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The Week

THE supplement on economic planning which accompanies this issue of The New Republic is not a remedy which is advertised to cure promptly every ailment of our society. It aims to show the way by which industry, finance and government, without a drastic change to collective ownership, may, if they will, begin to learn how to plan. It is a challenge to business, to those who do not favor a socialist state. Here, it says, are the minimum conditions of possible success in creating economic order, without a definite transfer of ownership and power. Without doing at least as much as this, without allowing at least as much scope for the public interest as is here outlined, you cannot hope to approach a proper use, in the interest of society, of our natural and technical resources. The report is the result of long study and discussion by experts. While of course it does not pretend to finality, we believe that in the long run its main judgments will be validated. Whether capitalist society can be persuaded to attempt anything like this is, of course, open to question. The challenge may not be accepted. But at least it is on record. And we do not doubt that in the long run, if the most influential forces in the United States do not do something of this sort, they will have to give way to others who will.

IT IS war in India. Mahatma Gandhi has again been arrested, and it is reported that he may be exiled to a remote island in the Indian Ocean where he can be held incommunicado. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been given two years' hard labor. Other leaders have also been imprisoned, and the jails will doubtless presently be overflowing. A few persons have already been killed, but the present loss of life is as nothing compared with what may be expected during the coming weeks and months. The new Viceroy, the Earl of Willingdon, is acting with the harshness appropriate to the mood of the new so-called National, actually Conservative, government in England. Technically, the break came over the proposed new measures in India "to preserve order." Mr. Gandhi protested against them, asked for a conference with the Viceroy, warned him of the possible resumption of non-violent non-coöperation. The Viceroy interpreted this as asking for a conference and at the same time making a threat, and the arrest of Mr. Gandhi followed promptly. However, the theoretical causes for the situation are not important; before the Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference had left London, they knew that a resort to force, whether passive or active, was almost inevitable. The repressive measures which will now be undertaken are about as comprehensive as they could possibly be. The government will outlaw the Indian National Congress, forbid it the use of the mails, lock up all its leaders under a hundred-year-old law, without trial, put down all public meetings even more ruthlessly (and bloodily) than before. The Hindus meanwhile propose a restoration of the anti-English boycott, which indeed has never been wholly suspended. Despite Mr. Gandhi's pleas against violence, it is almost certain to be employed, since the more radical Nationalists, who are growing in numbers and importance, have long opposed his pacifism. Already there have been several attempts, some successful, at assassination

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THE expected has happened in Finland. The national referendum on the continuance of prohibition has gone overwhelmingly Wet, and the experiment noble in purpose will be abandoned by that country. The Wet majority, to which the women contributed heavily, is about 70 percent, and less than 2 percent voted to compromise on legalizing wine and beer. Plans for resumption of the sale of liquor are not yet completed, but there seems no doubt that its manufacture, importation and sale will be in the hands of a special, government-controlled corporation, and that no private individual will profit from its operations. The United States is now the only non-Mohammedan country in the world which continues to seek temperance through a national law compelling abstinence; and, naturally, our leading advocates of prohibition are hard pressed to find a plausible explanation of the Finnish vote. Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas solves the problem by calling Finland a "small and unimportant country," cheerfully ignoring all the big, important ones which have either abandoned prohibition, or have never attempted it. Deets Pickett of the Methodist Board says that the liquor interests in various European countries made mock of the Finnish law by wholesale smuggling and thereby disgusted the Finns, who really wanted to be Dry and presumably only bought and drank the smuggled liquor out of Northern hospitality. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, of The Christian Endeavor, said, if he is correctly quoted, that the governments of European countries with liquor to sell brought pressure to bear on poor Finland. He explains neither why this amazing breach of international amity was not brought to the attention of the League of Nations nor how the suborned Finnish government persuaded 270,000 stubborn citizens to vote as it wished. Nearly all the Dry leaders predict that Finland will return to prohibition, although no country has ever yet followed this course. Perhaps the most dangerous argument of all is one made by Mr. Pickett, who blames it all on "the deplorable economic situation in Finland." Hush, Mr. Pickett! Once let it get around that abandoning prohibition helps a country out of a deplorable economic situation, and you'll have the whole United States on your neck.

IN REGARD to the tariff, the Democrats are in an embarrassing position. On the one hand, they want to be in a position to charge that the Republican high-tariff policy is largely responsible for depression—a charge in which there is undoubtedly a good deal of truth. On the other hand, they do not want to undertake the troublesome and hostility-arousing task of lowering the tariff in this session of Congress, which they technically control. The party bill, which is respectable enough in its outlines, furnishes a neat way out of this dilemma. It transfers the final say over tariff charges from mission report to the latter rather than to the former. It calls for the appointment of a "consumers' counsel" to take part in the proceedings of the Commission. It proposes an international economic conference on tariffs, and authorizes the President to negotiate reciprocity agreements with other countries. There is much to be said for each of these changes. None of them could lead to action by Congress until after the next election. At the same time, the principle of the tariff is dodged. There is no hint that the protective theory on which the present activities of the Commission are based is to be abandoned.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, Kentucky, is about a hundred miles from Harlan County; but its inhabitants seem to be imbued with the same doctrines which have made the latter place internationally infamous. The miners arrested in the Harlan coal war are being tried in Montgomery County, under circumstances which arouse grave doubt as to whether substantial justice is being done. The Knoxville, Tennessee, News-Sentinel, one of the Scripps-Howard chain of newspapers, on the basis of reports from its staff correspondent reporting the trials in Montgomery County, published an editorial commenting on the conviction of W. B. Jones, one of the miners' leaders, and said that "any fair-minded man" who had followed the testimony might wonder whether he was tried for conspiracy to murder, or for being a labor leader. This editorial, and the news dispatches on which it was based, have so angered Judge Henry R. Prewitt, sitting in these Harlan cases, that he has summarily barred any and all representatives of The News-Sentinel from attending the trials and reporting them for that paper. He has demanded an apology from the paper for what it has printed, although it would certainly seem that the real apology is owed from the whole judicial system of Kentucky to the people of the United States for a shameless and shameful misuse of all the forces of organized government to crush a strike and terrorize thousands of miners.

THE actual "crime" of The Knoxville News-Sentinel is undoubtedly not its reports of the trials in Montgomery County, but another fine job done by one of its staff members, Mr. John T. Moutoux. He unearthed a suppressed report made to the Governor of Kentucky by a committee of leading members of the bar of that state, and gave its contents in a series of articles which have appeared in The News-Sentinel and other Scripps-Howard papers. This report, an official state document, amply sustains all the charges made against the authorities of Harlan County by The New Republic and other periodicals. We summarize herewith some of the testimony taken by the Governor's commission:

A Harlan County Southern Methodist minister who

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rested, locked up in jail, then taken out and turned over to the sheriff's deputies who "beat him over the head with a pistol until his head was as black as your suit. His cheekbones were busted, both his eyes were bruised up where they hit him with a blackjack or something; they kicked him across the back, over the kidneys. He spit blood for three days." When he broke away and ran, fifty shots were fired after him.

A storekeeper in a small town in Harlan County who tried to help the starving families of the miners by giving away a carload of flour to them was promptly indicted on charges of criminal syndicalism. The prosecuting attorney told his wife that this was done because the Black Mountain Coal Corporation objected to his aiding the strikers.

The Governor's commission found several cases where "incendiary literature" was brought by raiders and "planted" on the person, or in the home, of a striker, who was then arrested for possessing this literature. The commission urged that these actions be investigated by a federal grand jury.

A man who went on bond for Mrs. Jessie Wakefield, of the International Labor Defense, who was working for the miners, was threatened and forced to leave town. The same night, his house was burned to the ground, and a few days later a store owned by him was blown up.

A young woman who happened to see one of the miners murdered was the subject of attempted bribery by officials of the law in Harlan County. They offered, if she would not tell what she saw, to put her through a training school for nurses. They also offered her brother "as good a job as they had in the mines" if he would testify against the miners.

There are numerous cases in the record where miners or people who were aiding them were captured, usually late at night, by mobs of the sheriff's half-drunk deputies and cruelly beaten.

In all, the Governor's investigators took 1,200 pages of testimony; and their report as a whole is the most terrific indictment of Harlan County "justice" yet made by anyone. Yet neither the former Governor of Kentucky, for whom the investigation was made, nor the present Governor, has taken any action on a basis of those charges; and the former Governor, in public statements, denied the existence of the conditions which his own commission reported.

THERE can be little doubt that the bombs mailed last week to various diplomatic representatives of the Italian government in the United States and to prominent Italo-Americans, were sent by anti-Fascists. Their act is a dreadful crime, and every good citizen must hope that they will be caught and punished. It is all the more unfortunate that such methods should have been employed, because they will serve, in the public's mind, to wipe out whatever difference may have existed between one sort of anti-Fascist and another, between liberals of the type of Professor Salvemini, and terroristic anarchists. There are large numbers of Italians, intelligent, able and patriotic, who are bitterly opposed to the Mussolini dictatorship but who would never dream of resorting to such methods, least of all in a foreign land, and against men whose responsibility for the acts of the Mussolini regime is of the remotest. Whether the terrorists are captured and punished or not, they have gravely injured the cause of those sincere Italian patriots who have been seeking, both inside Italy and beyond its borders, to bring about a restoration of democratic government in their country.

MR. C. P. Scott, editor of The Manchester Guardian for six decades, who died on New Year's Day, has been called in dozens of newspaper tributes "the grand old man of journalism"; and the phrase was not undeserved. In his anonymous profession there are only three or four men with worldwide reputations, and nearly all the others in recent years have been purveyors of trash for the semi-literate; they are important, as a baby playing with a Mills bomb is important, but in no sense are they worthy of the respect which goes to a majority of the men eminent in other occupations. Mr. Scott's career is another tribute to the irreplaceable, unapproachable value of personal character; this was the thing which made a newspaper of limited circulation, although it is published in a provincial English city, one of the world's two or three most respected journals, a power in national, imperial and world politics. This remains true today, even though most of the political beliefs for which Mr. Scott stood are now at a lower ebb in English life than they were at any time in his career. He never hesitated to assume his readers to be as intelligent and honorable as himself, and while the mob always ignored him, he drew into his circle men and women throughout the world who welcomed such assumptions and the journal which expressed them. It is often said that the sort of journalism of which The Guardian is ar exemplar is now passing, being forced out by the weight of chain ownership and syndication, and in general this is true. Yet there is no doubt that a man of his abilities could make his mark in newspapers of any sort, just as there is no doubt that his own paper will long continue to bear witness to his qualities.

No Dole to Capital!

THERE appears to be a superstition that on the first of January it is more possible to predict the economic future than on the first of December, or of October, or of August. At any rate, this is the season when all our hopefuls, young and old, blossom out with cheery words about the return of good times. In sober truth, if one looks for the signs of revival in the customary array of statistics, it is difficult to see where hope can lie. No reliable turn of prices has occurred, in any important market, nor does there appear to be any reason why one should. Employment and production continue to plod their weary downward

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way. One frequent sign that the end of a depression is at hand—a renewal of investment as revealed in a growing issuance and purchase of securities—is dramatically absent. The best one can say is that perhaps the depression like a gale is blowing itself out, and that the necessary readjustments, whatever they may be, are more nearly made now than before, simply because the tempest has lasted so long. But that is more in the nature of desire than of assurance.

Strangely enough, judgment as to the near future now rests more on political events than on what may happen in the welter of private enterprise. That this is so—and is recognized to be so by the conservative and respectable—marks a significant change of opinion from a year ago. In the earlier stages of the depression, the belief which was in correct fashion held that business, if left alone, would find its own path out. The job of the government was to stand aside and give business the right of way. Anything politicians might do would be likely to alarm the shy wildings who inhabit our skyscrapers and factory offices. The country was fundamentally sound and soundly fundamental; all that was lacking was confidence that this was so. No deeds from political leaders, but a flood of optimistic words, was held to be the proper thing. Now we have the President urging Congress to make haste and create a Reconstruction Finance Corporation, so that funds borrowed by government or collected from taxpayers can be rushed to the aid of needy railroads, banks and other business institutions before it is too late. Few understand what a complete change of front this represents. Perhaps it does not mean more government in business, but it certainly does mean more government money in business—and with a vengeance.

The New Republic is often taken for a radical journal, but it is just conservative enough so that it dislikes to see the government handing out doles, creating a class of dependents, maintaining security prices "artificially." We have, to be sure, urged that government money be used to feed the unemployed, but that was because we did not see where else all the money was to come from (this country not having had the intelligence either to prevent unemployment or to insure against it) and we have a distaste for knowing that people go hungry. But if railroads, which are, after all, private business corporations and not men in a breadline, cannot earn enough to pay their interest charges, surely it is creating a dangerous precedent to pay the interest for them. The money is to be technically "loaned," to be sure, but what assurance is there that it can be repaid? What will happen when the next lot of coupons has to be cut? Can the citizens go on indefinitely meeting the capital charges of a sizable part of the private business of the country? Should we create a class of corporate parasites?

We are not callous to the injury which would be wrought by more failures of banks, by railroad receiverships, by insolvency of insurance companies, and the train of hardships which such disasters would cause to a host of small depositors and to all those dependent directly or indirectly on bond and mortgage interest. But we do not understand how this injury can be avoided, sooner or later, unless the earnings on which the payment of this interest depends can be made to flow once more. Transferring the burden to taxpayers may postpone the evil day, but cannot prevent its final arrival, unless in the meantime industrial activity is revived. And, if a good deal of capital deflation is to be avoided, not only must we have a revival in the volume of production and consumption, but in the prices at which it is carried on. The fixed capital obligations of railroads and other corporations levy a definite charge upon the business of the country. The outstanding volume of securities, at the prices justified by their normal earnings, represent a much heavier drain upon the total national income, now that this income has been reduced by a drastic and general deflation of other prices. The chances are that economic balance can be restored only in one of two ways—either by reducing the fixed charges through a painful process of default, or by raising the other prices and incomes. If general deflation is the course to be pursued, capital obligations cannot escape. If the present low-price level is to continue, the sooner we go through with the defaults and bankruptcies, the better. Surely capital will not be attracted to the investment market in any volume as long as potential investors know that interest charges cannot be met except through governmental subsidy.

If government action is to help in the emergency, it ought not to begin with such a concealed and unsound dole to capital as the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. It ought to begin with measures which will have a really stimulating effect on the flow of purchasing power in the markets, and thus help both the industrial activity and the prices on which the payment of fixed charges ultimately depends. We know of no better way to accomplish this result than to pass Senator La Follette's bill authorizing a $5,000,000,000 bond issue to state and local governments so that they can push their public-works programs. This stimulation might, to be sure, prove insufficient, and in that case there would be no alternative but to allow deflation to run its course. But it is the only way to stem deflation. The primary significance of a program of this sort is not that it would relieve unemployment, but that it would exert an expanding influence on general economic activity.

We need a shift in accepted opinion beyond that which has already occurred. Now that business has at last turned to political agencies for relief, it ought to seek, not a mustard plaster, but a tonic. It ought to reject the capital dole and use the government as the only great agency which is able, in

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a time of general restriction, to collect and spend money in such a way as to speed up the complementary currents of purchasing power and production.

Direct governmental help for the validation of securities, moreover, ought not to be given without accepting the concomitant power and responsibility. When a banking house is called in to rescue an insolvent corporation, it does not just lend money and let the thing go at that. It takes charge, it reorganizes the concern, and often retains control of management. If the citizens believe it good policy to pay railroad-bond interest out of the public treasury, why should not the citizens reap all the benefits to which their contributions entitle them? Some years ago a large number of Canadian railroads were insolvent. The Dominion government wanted to save the security owners, but in doing so it took over the railroads, consolidated them into a magnificent system, and provided an expert management in the public interest. The Canadian National Railways, under the able presidency of Sir Henry Thornton, has, in competition with the privately owned Canadian Pacific system, saved the people of Canada many of the difficulties which arise under our cumbersome method of private ownership and public regulation. If railroad fixed charges are to be met out of the public treasury, let us at least own the railroads in question, and obtain the benefits which may be gained by management devoted to the public interest.

To End the Deportation Terror

THE RECOMMENDATIONS of the Wickersham Commission with respect to our deportation system, which are summarized in Mr. Oppenheimer's article on page 231 of this issue, call for immediate congressional action. The reasonableness of these recommendations and the necessity for their enactment were almost universally conceded in the editorial comment which followed the publication of the Report. Even the Secretary of Labor, although he said that the Report contained some proposals with which he could not agree, conceded that it contained some "constructive ideas."

The director of the census has just announced that in 1930 there were over 4,500,000 aliens in this country and, in addition, over 1,250,000 who had received their first papers but had not as yet been naturalized. Many of these aliens, even though lawfully here, live in constant fear that they will come within the toils of the despotic deportation system. They have no votes, but they are the parents of a considerable proportion of our next generation of American citizens, and from a selfish point of view if from no other, it is imperative that we see that the part of our governmental activity with which they are most apt to come into contact does not breed distrust and hatred of American institutions.

Perhaps the most important recommendation of the Wickersham Report is that some legislative discretion be given to prevent cases of unnecessary hardship and suffering to aliens or American citizens who may be members of the alien's family. "The inconsistency of the statutes themselves in this respect is anomalous," the report points out. "If an alien has committed a crime involving moral turpitude, the judge who sentences him has the power to prevent deportation. If the alien has been convicted of trading with a public enemy, the Secretary of Labor must find that he is an undesirable resident of the United States before deportation is possible. But there is no statutory discretion anywhere as to the great majority of aliens who are deportable, even though they have been the most desirable of residents and even though their deportation may result in their American children becoming public charges. While some administrative discretion is possible through the use of such devices as voluntary departure, this discretion is limited and sporadically exercised." It cannot be too strongly stressed that under the deportation statutes, despite the fact that deportation forever bars the alien from readmission to this country, there is no power analogous to that of pardon or parole. The President can pardon the worst offender against the criminal laws of the United States, or a federal court can parole him, but the deportation law gives no adequate way of preventing the needless separation of an alien from his American family.

Against the adoption of this recommendation, it has been suggested that with such a discretion in the law, "aliens would not hesitate to smuggle themselves into the country, knowing that a plea might find for them the right to remain." Such a suggestion entirely overlooks the fact that unlawful entry into this country is punishable by fine and imprisonment. It also overlooks the fact that even under the present system, aliens who would be subject to deportation are sometimes allowed to leave the country without a warrant being issued against them, so that they can reënter legally. Unfortunately, even in the hardest of cases, this procedure, for the most part, can only be applied in favor of aliens who can go back to Mexico and Canada. Europeans often have not the means to pay their passage back to their native land, or, if they return, to support their families until such time as they may be able to surmount our immigration barriers. If this argument were valid, moreover, the powers of pardon and parole should never be granted for fear that the right to extend mercy would be likely to lead to the commission of crime.

The pitiful inadequacy of the present law in this particular is shown by a deportation case reported

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by the newspapers shortly after the Wickersham Report was published. A Spaniard had entered this country illegally some years ago. He had married here and had a seventeen-months-old baby who was, of course, an American citizen. He was apprehended by the immigration authorities. The deportation machinery began to turn and the man would in all probability have been deported had not his wife written directly to President Hoover. The President, who had by this time received the Wickersham Report, evidently took the matter up with the Department of Labor and, as a result, no formal order of deportation was entered, but the alien was granted permission to depart voluntarily from the United States to any country of his choice before a certain date. Unfortunately, a substantial doctor's bill, incurred during the baby's illness, had to be met, and the alien was, moreover, confronted with the necessity not only of paying his own passage to another country and back to the United States, if he could get a visa, but also with the problem of either supporting his wife and child while he was gone or of taking them with him. Obviously, his circumstances were such that he could afford neither course. The time for his voluntary departure was extended, but neither the Secretary of Labor nor the President of the United States himself, despite their desire to avoid unnecessary hardship in this case, has the power under the law to pursue the obvious and sensible course of allowing the alien to continue to support his American family.

The argument has also been advanced that the suggested power of discretion should not be granted because it might lead to the exercise of political influence upon the agency to which the discretion is given. Such an argument is obviously inconsistent with the discretion which the Department of Labor now has to allow voluntary departure when the alien is able to leave at his own expense. It is also inconsistent with every consideration of justice and humanity. Must we be merciless because some of our officials are afraid that if they could be merciful they might be inconvenienced? In so far as the contention has any weight, it is only another argument for the second important recommendation of the Commission, the vesting of the power of decision in deportation cases in the federal courts or in an independent board.

The creation of an independent board or quasi-judicial tribunal to pass upon alien cases, recommended by Mr. Oppenheimer and endorsed by nine of the Commissioners, is a stage between the present system and the change recommended by Commissioner Anderson, who thought the matter should be handled by the present federal courts. There is at present a so-called Board of Review in the Department of Labor which, besides exercising a number of other duties, is supposed to pass upon deportation cases. The Report shows that, because of its position in the Department this Board cannot properly fulfill what really amounts to judicial functions in deportation matters, and recommends in effect that the Board be lifted from its present subordinate position and be appointed by the President, so that it can in reality be independent in its decisions. This Board would have its own subordinate officials, who would conduct deportation hearings throughout the country and would have the right to issue warrants of arrest so that aliens unlawfully here could be apprehended promptly, but legally. Under this plan, the Department of Labor would still investigate and prosecute suspected deportees, and carry out warrants of deportation. The separation of these functions, the Report shows, would in fact give to the present officials of the Department of Labor more time for the apprehension of aliens who are attempting to enter this country illegally or who are unlawfully here. The proposed Board would not be burdened with the technical rules of evidence which prevail in our courts; the process could be as speedy as it is now, but suspects would at least be assured of a fair and independent hearing by officials other than the ones who had apprehended and were prosecuting them.

Against this proposal, it is urged that it represents a "coddling attitude" toward lawless aliens. The obvious answer is that one of the defects of the present system lies in the very fact that the Department which apprehends and prosecutes suspects itself decides who are "lawless aliens." It is not the guilty but the innocent who need protection. That protection is not given by the present procedure. As The St. Louis Post Dispatch said, in commenting upon the Report: "It is as if the police had final power to throw a man into the penitentiary for life."

In the number of the human lives affected, it is doubtful if any study of the Commission, even its much publicized Report on Prohibition, was as important as its findings with respect to deportation. If President Hoover is still the humanitarian his supporters have always claimed him to be, he will present the enactment of these recommendations to Congress as one of its most urgent duties.

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The Deportation Terror

IF THE PUBLIC is not aroused by the Wickersham Report on deportations," exclaims a leading metropolitan paper, "America's sense of mercy and justice is dead." No report of the Commission, with the exception of its findings upon prohibition, has incited more controversy. In view of the fact that several of the fundamental changes recommended by the Commission in the present deportation system call for congressional action, it appears advisable to reëxamine its conclusions in the light of the comments which have been made, and the important new evidence which has become available since the report was prepared.

The Commission's report on the Enforcement of the Deportation Laws of the United States deals, not with the exclusion of aliens at the time they present themselves for admission to this country, but only with their expulsion once they are here. In the year ended June 30, 1930, the number of aliens expelled was in excess of sixteen thousand, but the processes of the deportation laws involved over one hundred and fifteen thousand people, many of whom were aliens lawfully in this country or United States citizens. The Department of Labor has since announced that deportations set a new high mark in the fiscal year ended June 30, 1931, with a total of over eighteen thousand.

There are hundreds of thousands of aliens in this country who have come here in violation of law or whose presence here by reason of their condition or actions after entry has become unlawful. The Report, whose conclusions and recommendations are adopted by nine of the eleven Commissioners, sets forth in detail the difficulties with which employees of the Department of Labor are confronted in the apprehension of these suspects. But the despotic power which is given to this department often results in oppression and unnecessary hardship. Under the present system, one employee of the Department of Labor may apprehend a suspect, arrest him, hear his case and serve as prosecutor, witness, interpreter, reporter and judge. Other employees of the department pass upon and, in the great majority of instances, approve the inspector's findings. The action of the Department of Labor is to all intents and purposes final. There is no probation, no parole, no pardon, no effective way to mitigate undue hardships. The suspect has no regular method of appeal. The remedy of habeas corpus is insufficient and, in the great majority of cases, unavailing because of the suspect's ignorance or poverty. The great majority of deportees—only about one-seventh of whom are of the criminal or immoral classes—have no funds to employ a lawyer and are ignorant of any rights they may have. The changes which the Commission recommends are designed, on the one hand, to make the enforcement of the laws more far-reaching and more effective, and, on the other, to make that enforcement more just and more humane.

Under the present system, the Commission finds, foreign-born residents of this country live in a constant state of apprehension that they will suddenly be made a subject of administrative process, carried on without their knowledge by telegraph between an inspector in the field and the bureau in Washington without the safeguards which "in every country characterize the judicial determination of personal and property rights of great and sometimes tragic importance." Anonymous communications are largely relied upon in apprehending suspects. Proceedings are carried on in secret by immigration officials, who, while generally honest and hardworking, are, for the most part, never personally interviewed or investigated before the Department of Labor employs them. These facts, the Report points out, coupled with the ignorance and poverty of many aliens, make them peculiarly subject to blackmail and extortion.

Since the Report was published, the Department of Labor has announced some of the results of a vigorous and commendable campaign against a gigantic gang of racketeers, whose activities center in immigration matters. The rackets perpetrated by these rings, it is claimed, have affected over one hundred thousand aliens. The perpetrators of these outrages, it is said, include gangsters, disreputable lawyers and, in some instances, subordinate officials of the Department of Labor.

Many of the activities of these criminal organizations, it is alleged, center in extortion of money from aliens in this country, some of whom may be subject to deportation and others of whom are legally here. The Secretary of Labor has stated "that bogus or counterfeit warrants of deportation were being issued and exhibited to aliens who are either legally or illegally within the United States, by certain persons who were demanding of such aliens that a sum of money ranging from $100 to $500 be immediately given to them, or they would be deported." A number of aliens, including "decent and law-abiding persons," have been preyed upon and blackmailed because they "had an original entry attended by some sort of minor irregularity."

The Wickersham Report, while it shows the lack of adequate checks or safeguards in the present system, merely points out the dangers of blackmail and extortion which the system permits. The federal department which alone administers

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that system has shown how these dangers have materialized.

In another important connection the Department of Labor itself, since the Report has been published, has published facts which substantiate the Commission's allegations. The Wickersham Report shows that the great majority of suspects are unable to afford counsel in deportation proceedings and that many of them are too ignorant properly to safeguard their own interests, particularly in proceedings in which the immigration official who has apprehended them and is prosecuting them may also be acting as their judge. No more striking illustration of such ignorance could be cited than an official statement of the Department. In referring to a recent law which permits the legalization of the admission of certain aliens who entered the United States prior to June 3, 1931, the Department announces that "forty-four fully fledged citizens of the United States applied for registration papers, not knowing that they had been American citizens for years."

The Wickersham Report finds that "the apprehension and examination of supposed aliens are often characterized by methods unconstitutional, tyrannic and oppressive." In particular, the Report finds that it is often customary for the immigrant inspectors to jail suspects without any warrant; that both the persons and effects of many supposed aliens are searched without a warrant; that in apprehending suspects, immigration officials have gone to the length of forcibly detaining groups of people, many of whom are aliens lawfully in this country or United States citizens, without any warrant of arrest or search; that these methods have included raids on lawful institutions and gatherings where a large number of people are peaceably assembled.

A report of a subcommittee of the Los Angeles Bar Association, on the deportation of aliens in that vicinity, is particularly interesting in connection with these findings. This report was not available at the time the Wickersham study was completed; moreover, Los Angeles was not one of the cities visited by the writer in his field work.

The Los Angeles lawyers, from the evidence presented to them, are "strongly inclined to believe" that the arrest of suspected aliens without warrants is a fairly general practice; that imprisonments without a warrant frequently cover a number of days during which the suspect is denied the right to see anyone, to employ counsel or to be admitted to bail, "in fact, that such suspects are so held and no warrant applied for until the immigration officers have succeeded in obtaining from such suspects while so held a statement sufficiently satisfactory to such officials to enable them to base upon such statement an application for the issuance of a warrant for arrest."

The Los Angeles report cites a number of specific illustrations of its charges. It cites, for example, the case of a married woman of refinement, who, without a warrant of any kind, was apprehended by an immigrant inspector and was kept three days in a place of detention where she was subjected to venereal-disease tests. All this was without any legal authority. The case was subsequently dismissed. Another case described in the Los Angeles report tells how two suspects were taken from their place of business in the middle of the day, fingerprinted and placed in the county jail without a warrant.

In still another case, it is alleged that the suspect was taken into custody without a warrant, "placed in an automobile with a screen around it, like a dog in a catcher's wagon, and stopped at different places about the town of Venice all day while the officers made other investigations." Although the suspect's counsel filed notice of appearance in compliance with the rules and regulations, the alien stated under oath that he was not notified that an attorney had been employed for him or that he had the right of an attorney, or the right to see a friend or relative. This alien was held in jail five days without a warrant and then was released.

In still another case, it is alleged, an alien was arrested while working in the fields. "Two immigration officers drove up in a car on to the premises and got out, and when the alien approached the hydrant for the purpose of carrying on his work of watering some plants, the alien claimed he was placed under arrest; the officers claimed the alien talked to them in English, but the proof in the case disclosed he could not talk enough English to be understood; handcuffs were then placed on the alien; no warrant for the arrest of the alien had been issued or applied for; the alien swore, under oath, he became frightened and started to run away, whereupon one of the officers fired two shots at him, one of which struck him in the right arm above the elbow; the alien was then taken to the San Pedro Immigration Station and locked up, and after being treated in a local hospital he was thereafter transferred to the Los Angeles county jail, and while confined and suffering from the gunshot wound, he was examined. 'The arrest and confinement started on March 2, 1929; the warrant was not issued until March 12.'"

The Wickersham Report states that in some instances the suspect is definitely discouraged by immigration authorities from procuring a lawyer. The Los Angeles report makes the following finding on this point: "Another practice brought to our attention, which to some extent at least seems to be indulged in by the immigration officials after procuring an arrest warrant, is that of coupling their compliance with the law, which requires them to advise the arrested accused of his right to counsel, with voluntary advice to the accused that the employment of counsel is not necessary and that he would fare better if no counsel were employed by him."

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In her book on the deportation of aliens, published after the Wickersham Report, Dr. Jane Perry Clark of Barnard College cites cases of illegal raids, apprehensions and searches. (Mr. P. F. Snyder, assistant to the Secretary of Labor, is advertised as saying of this book, "Anyone upon reading it can gain an accurate and complete knowledge of the subject.") She refers to such raids as that upon the Seamen's Church Institute and the raid upon an educational association where a dance was in progress and where approximately a thousand dancers were ordered to show evidence to prove that they were in this country legally. In commenting upon these raids, Dr. Clark states:

> In this connection it should be borne in mind that officials of the Department have authority only in cases of persons proved to be aliens, and even then may be acting without authority. No law, except the Chinese registration laws, requires either alien or citizen to produce a certificate either of admission to the country or of birth or naturalization, even if demanded. . . . Again it must be reiterated that deportation is not punishment for crime and that the method of illegal raid is of more than dubious validity even in criminal matters.

Dr. Clark also discusses investigations made without search warrant. "In investigating a case," she says, "immigrant inspectors often search the house and person of the alien in an effort to obtain passports, papers or other evidence leading to possible deportation. This is sometimes done without a warrant and is a practice felt even by some inspectors to be indefensible."

In her final chapter, Dr. Clark says: "It must be conceded that the present procedure affords opportunity for deprivation of rights considered fundamental to Anglo-Saxon law where personal liberty is involved. . . . In time of stress, as in the deportation raids of 1920, and again in the economic depression of 1930 with its renewed deportation raids and activity, anti-alien sentiment so manifests itself that fundamental rights guaranteed by the Constitution may be completely disregarded in a procedure which at best is obligated to regard them only in small degree."

One of the conclusions of the Wickersham Report is that "there is strong reason to believe that in many cases persons are deported when further development of the facts or proper construction of the law would have shown their right to remain."

In one of the cases cited by Dr. Clark, the alien was legally admitted to this country in 1921. In 1925 she was sent to a hospital, which reported her to the immigration authorities. At the hearing, her lawyer submitted a brief, "stating there was no history of insanity in the family, and requesting an examination by a reputable private physician. On September 10 this examination was given, with the report that Miss Aron had suffered from a 'mild attack of manic-depressive psychosis, induced by great worry over the ill health [illegible] mother and brother to whose support she could not contribute. She could be paroled to her sister and with suitable care would never have a recurrence.' The board of review took up the case on September 25, and there it was stated: 'In view of the conflict between the state certificate and the certificate of the private practitioner, the official certificate of the institution in which the alien is confined should be accepted.' " This alien had her first citizenship papers and had $500 saved in a savings bank. She was deported.

"Two of the cases," Dr. Clark states, "contained testimony that the relatives were each paying $7 a week maintenance at a state hospital, and would have paid more if more had been requested of them. Nevertheless, deportation took place on the grounds of having become a public charge, etc."

"The 'moral turpitude' provision of the deportation law," Dr. Clark states, "has outlived its usefulness and become a trap for the unfortunate administrator as well as the luckless alien. . . ." In one of the cases Dr. Clark cites, the alien, Enrico, then a boy of eighteen, had come to this country to join his father, who had become an American citizen. The son's entry was legal. His father had a criminal record both in Italy and in this country. According to Enrico's story, his father made improper advances to his step-daughter, whose mother asked Enrico to take the girl away and marry her. Enrico and the girl went to Boston to obtain a marriage license, but were told that they had to have their parents' permission as the girl was under age. They took an apartment together in Boston, but were reported to the police by a neighbor. The boy was sentenced to a year in the House of Correction, despite the fact that at the trial he repeated his desire to marry the girl, but his inability to do so on account of his father's refusal of permission. The House of Correction reported Enrico to the deportation authorities. At the deportation hearing, the boy's uncle said that he had $3,000 in savings, was earning $60 a week and would be glad to take the boy to live with him. He also corroborated the history of Enrico's father. A friend of the family also testified as to the excellent record and reputable life Enrico had led in Italy. Enrico was deported.

Dr. Clark agrees with the Wickersham Report that "more adequate representations of the alien by counsel or representatives of social agencies is needed."

The Wickersham Report states that in some cases studied, the deportee, despite an illegal entry, gives strong indication that he would have been a desirable resident of this country. Several of the cases abstracted by Dr. Clark support this conclusion. In one of these cases the alien immigrated to the United States in 1913. He filed his first citizenship papers in 1923. "He kept the same position as chauffeur for a number of

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learned to speak excellent English. He bought a house and a Ford car and had an account in a savings bank." In 1924, this alien went to Mexico for a trip and stayed for a month. In returning to this country, he did not make a legal entry. Under the decisions of the courts, the "entry" of an alien referred to in the statutes means not the first time he entered but the last time, so that, in general, no matter how long he may have resided here, if he leaves the United States, whether for a year, a week or a day and reënters, the same provisions of the deportation acts may apply as though he were entering for the first time. The alien in this particular case was tried in connection with the illegal entry of two other aliens but was acquitted. He was deported for illegal entry.

The alien in another case had been admitted as a temporary visitor. He overstayed his leave, working steadily as a painter and earning $8 a day, until he was reported to the immigration authorities. In the meantime, his wife had a child born in this country who was, therefore, an American citizen. The immigration inspector who took the testimony stated that the family were "sincere, hard-working people." The man was deported.

The Wickersham Report points out that as a result of the deportation proceedings "many persons are permanently separated from their American families with results that violate the plainest dictates of humanity." Under the statutes, any alien who is deported is forever barred from reëntering the United States. Dr. Clark says:

> That a technical violator of law should be permanently banished from a country in which he may have his every association is beyond measure in the severity of punishment inflicted. . . . The Department of Labor officials most intimately associated with the administration of the law have clearly stated their feeling of the necessity of alleviating the hardships of permanent banishment from the country in cases where particular difficulties are involved. The cases cited in this study indicate the manifest desirability of such change.

Among the cases to which Dr. Clark refers is one where an alien originally came to the United States in 1913. In 1916 he had to return to Italy to serve in the army. He served during the entire War, sustaining injuries while a prisoner in Austria. At the end of the War he married and returned to the United States, being admitted as a previous resident. The alien found work in a bakery, but became ill just at the time that a child, an American citizen, was born to the family. His wife went to work and her husband obtained work as soon as he was able. He was reported to the immigration authorities. Despite the fact that the Assistant Commissioner of Immigration wrote that "to claim less than three weeks before the expiration of the statutory period that this man and his young wife were persons likely to become public charges when they entered would be a very strained interpretation

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ground that he had not been legally inspected in 1913 and so was not admissible as an alien returning to an established residence in this country. His wife remained in this country with her American-born child.

The following quotations are from a letter which appeared in The New York Times of August 11, 1931:

> During my five years of service as Assistant United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, I handled hundreds of writs of habeas corpus in immigration cases. . . . I could gather many court decisions severely criticizing the application of the law relating to aliens, and pointing out the pitiful impotence of the courts to give any remedy because Congress has vested the immigration authorities with complete authority to deal with immigrants. . . . I know of cases where the immigration authorities conceded that it was most inhuman to deport an alien, and yet proceeded with deportation only because of the mandatory nature of the law.

The Wickersham Report is not an attack upon the Department of Labor; on the contrary, it repeatedly states that the great majority of the Department's employees are honest and hardworking. It is the deportation system itself which is at fault. Certain administrative changes recommended by the Commission have apparently been adopted; there seem to have been no raids since the Report was prepared, and the Department of Labor has reversed its attitude in the Serio and other like cases. One of the most important recommendations of the Commission with respect to the administrative process is that arrangements be made between the Department and the Legal Aid and other reputable philanthropic societies, so that counsel can be offered to suspects who are without funds.

Three groups of the Commission's recommendations call for legislative changes in the system. First, the personnel of the immigration and patrol services should be strengthened and enlarged for the better prevention of illegal entries and the apprehension of aliens unlawfully in the country. Second, the Commission is unanimous in recommending that more discretion be given by Congress to prevent needless separation of families where American citizens would be affected, or where deportation is otherwise found to be inadvisable, and to readmit aliens already deported in cases of exceptional hardship. Third, the conflicting functions of detective, prosecutor and judge cannot satisfactorily be carried out by one administrative agency in matters involving such vital rights as do deportation proceedings; ten of the eleven Commissioners recommend that the quasi-judicial functions now exercised by the Department should be lodged in an independent board or specialized court appointed by the President, or, as one of the Commissioners advocates, in the present federal courts.

As Simple As That

MY SIDE of the Wet-Dry controversy is urging the sanction of beer and wine to help relieve unemployment and to produce revenue for the government. From the short-time point of view, there is something in this. No doubt the government could get a good deal of money by taxing beer and wine, and no doubt a good many people could get work at making and distributing them. No doubt, too, some ancillary industries would be stimulated to some extent. If that is all that is wanted, and if the majority of those who are on my side of the contention do not especially care what price is paid to get it, there is, of course, nothing further to be said. I doubt, however, that this is so. There are some on my side of the fence, doubtless—perhaps many—who are like a similar contingent on the other side of the fence in being out for victory at any price. There are others, though, I believe, who would rather forgo a momentary advantage if they could see that in the long run it would cost more than it came to; and perhaps these have not looked beyond the immediate consequences of this proposal, or considered them in any other light than that of dollars and cents. My belief is, as I have said, that while the immediate outcome of this policy would probably be satisfactory, its social effects would be in the long run extremely unfortunate; and that if thoughtful members of my own party would pause a moment and forecast these effects, they would be very cautious about committing themselves to a policy so certain to produce them.

We all know that our old system of distributing liquor under tax and license was inseparable from great abuses, and that the prohibitionist movement, before it became professionalized, was largely a protest against them. The strength of prohibition was later augmented in much less respectable ways; the movement attracted most disreputable alliances, and its victory, from the social point of view, has been in every way disappointing. Prohibition, once victorious, immediately changed its character, quite as some foresaw it might. It is now no longer a moral or social issue, and only in an electioneering sense a political issue. It is a vested interest, and one of the largest, if not quite the largest, that exists among us. This complete change of character is perhaps not as generally realized and understood as it should be. If, now, a popular discontent with the social exactions of this vested interest is going to prevail, as some think likely, the reaction should be managed intelligently enough to avoid a recurrence of those former abuses; and the proposal to make beer and wine a source of governmental revenue is a proposal to invite them back.

The upshot of our experiment with prohibition offers an opportunity really to settle the question, rather than to temporize with it; and one of two principles that comes out clearly as fundamental to an actual settlement is that the only way to forestall abuses is to make them unprofitable. Take the money out of bootlegging, and it will disappear; take the profit out of a demoralizing overstimulation of the retail trade, and that will disappear. For strictly practical reasons the government should enforce this principle first upon itself. If a government sincerely intends to help teach the people to be temperate, it should first and above all resolutely renounce the idea of making money out of the distribution of liquor among them. I am not rehearsing the old complaint against the "immorality" of the government's going as a partner in the liquor business. I am talking about the impracticability of it. Give the government a sleeping partnership in any business, and you give it the strongest possible incentive for wanting the business pushed. In the old days, by way of taxes and licenses, the federal government, the state and the municipality were all sleeping partners in the liquor business, and in retrospect it is easily seen how demoralizing the influence of that partnership was, and how directly and persistently it bore upon just the abuses which gave prohibition its first footing. If the present proposals are adopted, that influence will certainly resume its sway, and its effects will be as far-reaching and as evil as they ever were.

Resumption of the trade in beer and wine is further advocated as a temperance measure on the theory that their use will divert people from stronger drinks. So it will, measurably, but only under certain peremptory conditions. First, they must be good; and second, they must be cheap, as cheap as they can possibly be made, consistent with quality, in order to make the competition most effective. Third, they must be easily accessible, not sold in specially licensed depots, but sold everywhere. The government can aid this competition negatively by making these products tax free and by abolishing licenses, and positively by exercising a strict supervision over their quality. It cannot do much more than this. The most it can do, in fact, is to apply certain small measures of continuous repression and discouragement, and it must be careful not to make them so severe as to put any kind of substantial premium on evasion. A sincere and intelligent regulation must above all things know where to stop regulating; that is, it must know the exact point where the infraction of regulation will become profitable, and come what may, it must stop well within that point. This is a second principle fundamental to an actual settlement of the liquor problem. A wise go[illegible]

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give up the preposterous notion that it can, or should, try to prevent people from getting drunk. All it can do is to make it a little easier, cheaper, more pleasant and interesting for them not to get drunk than to get drunk; and it can do this on terms which automatically take the profit out of the illicit trade and thereby protect people from its solicitations.

I saw the measures that Norway had in force fifteen years ago, and they seemed to me singularly intelligent and effective. I should say that they represented everything, as shown above, that a wise and disinterested government can hope to do. One could get spirits—get them by the drink, retail, and of the very best quality—but getting them was a laborious job. I tried it once. I was directed to the depot, and found I had to walk a long way uphill to reach it. Then I found it was open only at an inconvenient hour, when one would be least likely to want a drink. I returned at the appointed time and entered a room bare of all furniture but a pine table with bottles on it; no chairs, no pictures, no incentive to sociability. The barkeeper showed a curious reluctance and inhospitality about selling me a drink; he would not look at me, say a word, or show me the least civility. I thought this was very odd, for Norwegians are notably pleasant to strangers; but I understood it later, on discovering that all the barkeepers in Norway had their wages graded inversely to the amount of liquor they sold, pro rata to the population served, of course; so that the barkeeper who sold the least liquor per year got the most wages. Getting a drink of spirits was thus possible, but quite a chore, and very dismal; while on the other hand, a superb tax-free beer was sold all over town, without license, in every café, restaurant, grocery store, in any quantity, at a ridiculously small price. The government kept its hands strictly off it.

I was told that nobody in Norway got any money out of spirits. The government made them a monopoly, and farmed out their handling at cost to a committee of public-spirited persons in each town, who served without pay. Thus one got first-class liquor at a price below the possibility of bootleggers' competition; my drink cost me less than any I ever bought, and it was about the best I ever tasted. Again, while spirits were troublesome to get, it was just a little easier to get them in the regular way than it was (quality, cost and risk considered) to make one's own, or to mouse around after contraband liquor, even if any were to be had. All the pressure of convenience and sociability was in favor of substituting beer, and most people, accordingly, took to beer.

In Belgium, where I have lived a good deal of late, there is a regulatory law that at first strikes one as odd and rather silly. One can buy spirits and liqueurs freely, but only in two-quart lots, not by the drink; the cafés and restaurants are not [illegible] them. That is all there is to it. I was surprised to find that this law was put on the books by the Socialists and labor people, and at first I was even more surprised to find that it is apparently quite acceptable and reasonably well obeyed. The Belgians are a hard-headed people and notorious for taking no nonsense from their government; they pretty well make their politicians walk a chalked line. They do not stand much regulation without being "shown." Observing that this law passes without serious complaint, I looked into it to see what good it did, if any, and found that in respect of its one only apparent object, it worked pretty well. It is a money-saver for the laboring classes. The Belgians like beer. They have good light beers, and also a very strong sour beer called *gueuze,* unpleasant to an untrained taste, reminding one somewhat of the flavor of stone-fence cider, but very wholesome and extremely cheap, and two or three hookers of it would floor a yearling bull. When a Belgian workman starts out on an impromptu spree at the week-end, all that the law does is to make it just a trifle easier for him to stick to the cheap, wholesome and potent *gueuze* than to switch to more expensive spirits. He may be drunk as a piper by Saturday midnight—probably will be—but he will not be broke.

I cite the Belgian law only as an example of the caution with which an intelligent government proceeds in this matter of regulation. The Belgian municipalities, and I think the general government too, get some revenue out of the industry, unfortunately, so they cannot deal with it quite disinterestedly, as the Norwegian government (if my information was correct) was able to do. The Belgian law simply shows how little may be attempted in the way of direct legislative control, with any hope of success. The Belgian law can easily be evaded, and often is. Clubs, for example, are exempt; and in Belgian cities there are a good many clubs which are not *bona fide;* membership in them is nominal, and as long as they are reasonably discreet they are not interfered with. But the law is surprisingly well obeyed in general, because it does not attempt to outrun public sentiment—and this is the beginning of legislative wisdom, especially in Belgium where public sentiment is very well informed and extremely quick on the trigger.

I do not say, nor do I believe, that the system in vogue in Norway fifteen years ago should be taken over bodily and applied here. I am not interested in that. I am interested in the principles which that system exemplified, and which can be applied anywhere—the principle of absolute financial disinterestedness on the part of the government, and the principle of great cautiousness in sumptuary regulation. Henry George believed that the very best, ideally, any government could do for temperance is to take every cent of tax off all kinds of liquor, spirits as well as the lighter kinds, and allow them to be sold as freely as peanuts, contenting itself only with a very strict supervision of

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their quality. Nature runs so readily to alcohol that it is one of the cheapest products in the world; and if its price were not artificially enhanced, nobody could afford to keep a saloon. He made out an irrefragible case for this view, and I have no objections to saying that I fully agree with it. But it is not necessary to consider this extreme doctrine now, because spirits do not figure in the discussion at present before the public, but only wine and beer. About these, I think there can be no doubt. If the idea is to promote temperance by putting them into any sort of handicap competition with stronger drinks, there can be no question, in my judgment, that the proposal to regard them as revenue-producers represents a most dangerous opportunism.

It is, of course, true that a republican government cannot rise much above the general moral and cultural level of its people. Perhaps, therefore, the United States has found in prohibition the only system that at all responds to its peculiar conditions, its peculiar limitations of intelligence, character and culture, and is accordingly at all workable. I am myself much disposed to think so. Perhaps, on the same grounds, it is only possible to interest the government in any modification of prohibition by offering it the substantial bribe that the current proposals contemplate. I am obliged to think this also is true, although I feel utterly degraded by the necessity which forces me to either admission. Nevertheless, I am against prohibition, both in principle and because it conduces directly to a state of society which is to me utterly odious and repulsive; and there appear to be many others who are restless under prohibition for the same reasons. My suggestion is only that we should not be so keen to get rid of prohibition as to offer concessions whereby the social advantages of any change from that system would be largely lost or even seriously jeopardized. I do not undertake to say what kind of system should replace prohibition, but I do say most earnestly that whatever that system is, in order to be successful it must be founded on the two principles that I have cited. The first one, illustrated by the Norwegian law, is the principle of governmental disinterestedness; the government, federal, state and municipal, should keep itself consistently aloof from the business as a source of profit, not on the level of a financial partnership with it. If the government becomes a partner, it will unfailingly look on the business primarily with a partner's eye, as a moneymaker; and it will interest itself in the social view of the industry only in so far as is consistent with moneymaking. For this we already have the undeviating testimony of long experience in pre-prohibition days, and we know the evils that came of it. Well, if we set the same causes at work, we must expect the same consequences. The second principle, illustrated by the Belgian law, is that of great caution and wisdom in making regulatory measures as few and simple as possible, and keeping them strictly within the limits set by popular sentiment. There can be no safe compromise with either of these principles. If we are capable of learning anything, our experience under the pre-prohibition regime must have enforced the first of them upon us beyond peradventure, and our experiences under prohibition leave no doubt about the second. Hence, I feel justified in asking those whose views and sentiments on the subject are at all like mine to examine carefully the current proposals concerning wine and beer, and to think twice before endorsing them.

ALBERT JAY NOCK.

Poland: An Empire on the Make

ANYONE who retains lively recollections of the sinister façade of pre-war Europe will find a visit to Poland highly instructive, reviving, as it is bound to revive, so many old memories and past associations. Walking in the streets of Warsaw, paying a visit to the Seym or passing along the lobbies of the Law Courts, one receives impressions which throw one's mind back to old Russian or Austrian scenes. My first and most lasting impression was of the heterogeneity of the population. I was not surprised to find that Poland is composed of various nationalities; what struck me as remarkable, more than this variety, was their seeming incapacity either for association or for assimilation.

The racial clashes impress one conspicuously as the peculiar feature of resurrected Poland, the racial supremacy of the Polish nation standing out starkly against the inferiority of the other races, who are generally regarded as subject. In this respect, present-day Poland is like old Russia and old Austria-Hungary, perhaps rather more Russian than Austrian. In Poland only the German minority and the former German-Poles enjoy a certain amount of local and national autonomy, and though the Germans are not liked, they are at any rate not despised. The other races, especially the Ukrainians and the Jews, are openly kept down as underdogs. The whole racial situation reminds me, I repeat, of Tsarist Russia, with its recognition of the Great Russians as the only true sovereign race and its relegation of all other nationalities, Poles, Ukrainians, White Russians and the like, to the category of the *inorodzi,* or differently born, a kind of native alien.

The attitude of the Poles toward their own in-

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ferior races, who may be tolerated but must not aspire to equality, has been strikingly demonstrated lately in the anti-Jewish riots at practically all the Polish universities (Cracow, Warsaw, Vilna). Like most outrages of the kind, these riots have an economic cause and a political aim. The ridiculous and almost incredible origin of the whole agitation —the insufficient supply of Jewish corpses in the university dissecting schools—could never have assumed similar proportions in any other country. It is undeniable that an overabundance of the professional classes exists in Poland, which the present trade depression has still further complicated. In other countries the adjustment of such a situation would have been left to the play of economic forces; but in Poland, where many students are members of the tolerated races, the temptation to settle it by terrorist methods proved too great to be resisted. Moreover, a terrorist policy was fully approved by national sentiment and was in line with the general economic trend of affairs, where the tendency is to "comb out" the inferior races. The extreme Nationalists, the powerful and consistent opponents of the present regime, are only too glad to support the Polish students, as a stick with which to beat the government. The most illuminating feature of this tragi-comedy is the fact that when the anti-Semitic outbreak took the form of open violence and the government felt bound to intervene, it was at once denounced as partisan and pro-Jewish. The defense of citizens against violence becomes unpatriotic when the aggressors are Poles and the victims belong to the inferior races. The dismal character of the situation is the certainty that these "differently born" have no redress either inside or outside Poland.

It is well to remind readers that whereas any conflict occurring between Poles and Germans would at once be brought to the notice of the League of Nations by the contending parties, any attempt on the part of the Jews to lodge such a complaint would either be denounced as rank treason or laughed out of court as preposterous. When the Ukrainians, who are practically in the same position as the Jews, attempted to lay their grievance before the League and asked it to obtain a measure of local autonomy for eastern Galicia, this move aroused the greatest indignation in Poland.

An outside observer in Poland is constantly struck, as I have said, by evidences of cultural and political repression. The closing of the Ukrainian University of Lwow (Lemberg) is a glaring instance in point. The accentuation of this repression by a fierce economic struggle makes one feel a certain instability in the Polish policy. Moreover, the basic forces and the political relations in Poland are so novel and unusual that one finds it almost impossible to evaluate them or to foretell their future. The only conclusion a stranger can arrive at is that national and political exasperation is so widespread that, unallayed by a policy of conciliation, it threatens to undermine the whole fabric of the State. For this exasperation Marshal Pilsudski, with his idea of a rigidly centralized State, must be held largely responsible.

Typical of the general policy of the Pilsudski regime is the fact that the leaders of the opposition have been arrested and are now on trial. When I arrived in Warsaw in October, I was advised to go not to the Seym but to the Law Courts if I wanted to follow the political debates in Poland. This again reminded me of old Tsarist times, when members of the Duma often found themselves in the dock facing not the Ministers, but the prosecuting attorney. The impression was heightened by the general atmosphere of the trial. The fact that charges brought against the leaders of the opposition were based on the old Russian criminal code is in itself significant. But the rigorous refusal of the Court to permit the mention of Brest, the prison in which they were incarcerated and tortured, was so typically Russian that I could almost imagine myself in old St. Petersburg.

The trial of the eleven members of the United Opposition headed by Dr. Lieberman (leader of the Polish Socialist party) and the peasants' champion, Witos (a former Prime Minister, whom Pilsudski deposed by his coup d'état), created tremendous excitement in Poland and the reports of it published in the newspapers were read with the greatest avidity. But the newspapers were forbidden to give full details of the case, and in several instances were confiscated for so doing. Though members of the Opposition in the Seym protested against this action, the protest had little effect; for the Seym, with its overwhelming government majority, not only is a tame institution now, but is rapidly losing the focus of political life.

Aside from the fact that the Seym has lapsed into a sort of coma, a battle is being waged outside its walls between Marshal Pilsudski and his adherents on the one side and the "Zentrolew," a weakened coalition of the parties of the Center and the moderate Left, on the other. This struggle, unequal as it is, is likely to prove a fight to a finish. So sharp are the differences that compromise of any sort seems impossible. But a third party, largely uncommitted, cannot be left out of account. This third party, the National Democrats, has been in power once; and at least has a tradition behind it and a program. The National Democrats are at present watching and waiting; and the mutual animosities of the Pilsudskists and the Zentrolewists may well prove so injurious to both parties as to afford the Narodowzi their chance.

The striking feature of Polish political life, however, is the foreign rather than the domestic policy. The Zentrolew, a combination of the moderate Socialist groups, favors an accommodation with both of Poland's great neighbors, but has no plan for bringing about such an accommodation. Even if the Zentrolew possessed a plan it would

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hardly dare proclaim it; for its representatives in the Seym are few, and have been terrorized into silence. On the other hand, the two great parties which are fighting for supremacy, the Pilsudski, or Government party, and the National Democrats, are divided on foreign policy not because one is aggressive and the other pacific, but because they cannot agree as to which of the country's neighbors should be considered the chief enemy. As the National Democrats regard Germany as the chief enemy, they oppose anything like saber-rattling on the eastern front. The Pilsudski party, on the other hand, considers Russia the chief enemy and avoids antagonizing Germany. To this party any weakening of Russia or any threat to Russia is welcome.

Some people in the West, exaggerating Pilsudski's need of conciliating Germany, still cling to the idea that an eastern "Locarno" is possible, that is to say, a rectification of the German-Polish frontiers with a consequent improvement of political relations and trade. However, little evidence can be adduced in support of this view. On the contrary, the establishment of the new Polish port of Gdyna, next door to Danzig, and the connection of this port by a direct railway line (now being constructed with the aid of French capital) with the Upper Silesian coal and iron area, suggest that the Polish government's intention is to stabilize the Corridor rather than to surrender it. But in any case, whatever might be the scope and basis of a reconciliation with one of Poland's neighbors, it is hard to imagine that a reconciliation can be effected with both.

The difficulty Poland experiences in adjusting her relations with Germany is notorious. It arises from the Corridor which cuts off East Prussia from the rest of Germany. The difficulties with Russia are less well known because they are only latent. Indeed, official relations between Poland and Soviet Russia are friendly, but beneath the surface a struggle seems to be going on, a struggle whose prize is a reunited Ukraine.

It is not easy to interpret Pilsudski's mind, which is so naturally secretive that no one in Poland seems to know his aims. Even the President of the Republic, who, of course, takes his orders from the Marshal, seems unable to anticipate them. But enough is known of Pilsudski's general line of policy to justify one in declaring that his aim in foreign policy is to weaken Russia by detaching Soviet Ukraine and by forming a coalition of buffer states from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This anti-Russian animus on the part of the governing classes in Poland was clearly revealed in the excitement which flared up in Warsaw as a result of the Far Eastern complications. The anticipation that Russia might be involved was greeted with enthusiasm, for "Russia's trouble is Poland's opportunity."

Although the map of new Europe is now over thirteen years old, the general opinion held of the succession states, Czechoslovakia alone excepted, is that they are at once inchoate and unstable. Some people regard the three Baltic States (Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia) as a formidable barrier between Bolshevism and western Europe; while others look on them as more or less at the mercy of Russia and tolerated only from a desire to avoid complications with the Great Powers.

Poland occupies a more or less similar position in general opinion. The official view exaggerates the strength of the country, believing it to be an effective counterpoise to both Russian and German ambitions; while the ordinary newspaper reader is inclined to consider Poland negligible and great only by inflation. As a matter of fact, the Nazis in Germany owe no small part of their notoriety as a danger to European peace to the idea that they can bring down Poland by simply marching through the Corridor. It needs, however, but a short stay in Poland to realize the absurdity of this notion. The impression derived, it is only fair to say, is not that of rock-bottom strength, but of strain, self-assertion and swollen ambition.

But all this super-nationalism, peculiar and natural enough in a succession state, cannot prevent the disinterested foreign observer from recognizing the fact that Poland is a serious problem. Previous to my visit to Poland, I had thought, as I believe a good many persons still think, that Germany's apprehensions about Poland were mere propaganda. But when I got to Warsaw, I realized not only that Germany was uneasy about her eastern frontier, but that Poland was equally uneasy about her western frontier. In Warsaw, too, I began to see the Soviet's dread of European intervention in a rather different light.

It is useless to assign the blame for this mutual distrust to one or even to all three of the nations concerned; the geographical and historical position itself makes this area one of high tension. However, it is certain even to a casual visitor to Poland that the mood of the country is far from conciliatory. Whether this is a result of fear, reasonable or unreasonable, or arrogance, is not for me to say. At any rate the military display and parade is imposing enough. The number of officers in full uniform one meets in the streets of Warsaw is amazing and hardly to be paralleled in any other European city save Bucharest or Belgrade.

Poland is an empire in the making. The insatiable desire for expansion, for the creation of a Greater Poland, is not a mere dream, not an attachment to a romantic tradition, but fidelity to a resolute ambition. The younger generation is being brought up on this creed, and old historical maps, which show a Poland extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea, are displayed even in business offices. The mere survival of such a tradition is bound to make Poland's neighbors uneasy. But this is not only a mood which is likely to involve the country in international complications: it seems to be the basis of Poland's policy.

Warsaw MICHAEL FARBMAN.

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Meester Veelson

WHILE Woodrow Wilson drove up Pennsylvania Avenue beside Taft the great buttertub, who as President had been genially undoing T. R.'s reactionary efforts to put business under the control of the government,

J. Pierpont Morgan sat playing solitaire in his back office on Wall Street, smoking twenty black cigars a day, cursing the follies of democracy.

Wilson flayed the interests and branded privilege, refused to recognize Huerta and sent the militia to the Rio Grande

to assume a policy of watchful waiting. He published the New Freedom and delivered his messages to Congress in person, like a college president addressing the faculty and students. At Mobile he said:

I wish to take this occasion to say that the United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest,

and he landed the Marines at Vera Cruz.

We are witnessing a renaissance of public spirit, a reawakening of sober public opinion, a revival of the power of the people, the beginning of an age of thoughtful reconstruction;

but the world had started spinning round Sarajevo.

First it was *neutrality in thought and deed,* then *too proud to fight* when the "Lusitania" sinking and the danger of the Morgan loans and the stories of the British and French propagandists set all the financial centers in the East bawling for war, but the suction of the drumbeat and the guns was too strong; the best people took their fashions from Paris and their broad "a's" from London, and T. R. and the House of Morgan.

Five months after his reëlection on the slogan *He Kept Us out of War,* Wilson pushed the Armed Ship Bill through Congress and declared that a state of war existed between the United States and the Central Powers:

Force without stint or limit, force to the utmost.

Wilson became the State (war is the health of the State), Washington his Versailles, manned the socialized government with dollar-a-year men out of the great corporations and ran the big parade

of men munitions groceries mules and trucks to France. Five million men stood at attention outside of their tarpaper barracks every sundown while they played "The Star Spangled Banner."

War brought the eight-hour day, compulsory arbitration, high wages, high rates of interest, cost-plus contracts and the luxury of being a Gold Star Mother.

If you objected to making the world safe for cost-plus democracy you went to jail with Debs.

Max of Baden was pleading for the Fourteen Points, Foch was occupying the bridgeheads on the Rhine and the Kaiser out of breath ran for the train down the platform at Potsdam wearing a silk hat and some say false whiskers.

With the help of *Almighty God, Right, Truth, Justice, Freedom, Democracy, the Self-determination of Nations, No Indemnities, No Annexations*

and Cuban sugar and Caucasian manganese and Northwestern wheat and Dixie cotton, the British Blockade, General Pershing, the taxicabs of Paris and the seventy-five gun

we won the war.

On December 4, 1918, Woodrow Wilson, the first President to leave the territory of the United States during his presidency, sailed for France on board the "George Washington,"

the most powerful man in the world.

In Europe they knew what gas smelt like and the sweet sick stench of bodies buried too shallow and the gray look of the skin of starved children; they read in the papers that Meester Veelson was for peace and freedom and canned goods and butter and sugar;

he landed at Brest with his staff of experts and publicists after a rough trip on the "George Washington."

La France Héroique was there with the speeches, the singing schoolchildren, the mayors in their red sashes (Did Meester Veelson see the gendarmes at Brest beating back the demonstration of dockyard workers who came to meet him with red flags?)

At the station in Paris he stepped from the train onto a wide red carpet that led him, between rows of potted palms, silk hats, legions of honor, decorated busts of uniforms, frockcoats, rosettes, boutonnières, to a Rolls Royce. (Did Meester Veelson see the women in black, the cripples in their little carts, the pale anxious faces along the streets, did he hear the terrible anguish of the cheers as they hurried him and his new wife to the Hotel de Murat, where in rooms full of brocade, gilt clocks, Buhl cabinets and ormolu cupids the presidential suite had been prepared?)

While the experts were organizing the procedure of the peace conference, spreading green baize on the tables, arranging the protocols,

the Wilsons took a tour to see for themselves: the day after Christmas they were entertained at Buckingham Palace; at New Year's they called on the Pope and on the microscopic Italian King at the Quirinal. (Did Meester Veelson know that in the peasants' wargrimed houses along the Brenta and the Piave they were burning candles in front of his picture cut out of the illustrated papers?

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Did Meester Veelson know that the people of Europe spelled a challenge to oppression out of the Fourteen Points as centuries before they had spelled a challenge to oppression out of the ninety-five articles Martin Luther nailed to the church-door in Wittenberg?)

January 18, 1919, in the midst of serried uniforms, cocked hats and gold braid, decorations, epaulets, orders of merit and knighthood, the High Contracting Parties, the Allied and Associated Powers met in the Salon de l'Horloge at the Quai d'Orsay to dictate the peace,

but the grand assembly of the peace conference was too public a place to make peace in,

so the High Contracting Parties

formed the Council of Ten, went into the Gobelin Room and surrounded by Rubens' History of Marie de Medici,

began to dictate the peace.

But the Council of Ten was too public a place to make peace in

so they formed the Council of Four.

Orlando went home in a huff

and then there were three:

Clemenceau,

Lloyd George,

Woodrow Wilson.

Three old men shuffling the pack,

dealing out the cards:

the Rhineland, Dantzig, the Polish corridor, the Ruhr, self-determination of small nations, the Saar, League of Nations, mandates, the Mespot, Freedom of the Seas, Transjordania, Shantung, Fiume and the Island of Yap:

machine-gun fire and arson,

starvation, lice, cholera, typhus,

oil was trumps.

Woodrow Wilson believed in his father's God,

so he told the parishioners in the little Lowther Street Congregational Church where his grandfather had preached in Carlisle in Scotland, a day so chilly that the newspaper men sitting in the old pews all had to keep their overcoats on.

On April 7 he ordered the "George Washington" to be held at Brest with steam up ready to take the American delegation home;

but he didn't go. (Was it too comfortable at the Hotel de Murat, leaning back in the brocaded chairs, letting the smooth phrases form proudly in the professorial larynx?)

On April 19 sharper Clemenceau and sharper Lloyd George got him into their little cosy three card game they called the Council of Four.

On June 28 the Treaty of Versailles was ready,

and Wilson had to go back home to explain to the politicians who'd been ganging up on him meanwhile in the Senate and House and to sober public opinion and to his father's God how he'd let himself be trimmed and how far he'd made the world safe for democracy and the New Freedom.

From the day he landed in Hoboken he had his back to the wall of the White House, talking to save his faith in words, talking to save his faith in the League of Nations, talking to save his faith in himself and in his father's God.

He strained every nerve of his body and brain, every agency of the government he had under his control (if anybody disagreed he was a crook or a Red; no pardon for Debs).

In Spokane the wobblies whose leaders were in jail, in Spokane the wobblies whose leaders had been lynched, who'd been shot down like dogs, in Spokane the wobblies lined four blocks as Wilson passed, stood silent with their arms folded staring at the great liberal as he was hurried past in his car, huddled in his overcoat, haggard with fatigue, one side of his face twitching. The men in overalls, the workingstiffs let him pass in silence after all the other blocks of handclapping and patriotic cheers.

In Pueblo, Colorado, he was a gray man, hardly able to stand, one side of his face twitching:

Now that the mists of this great question have cleared away, I believe that men will see the Truth, eye for eye and face to face. There is one thing the American People always rise to and extend their hand to, that is the truth of justice and of liberty and of peace. We have accepted that truth and we are going to be led by it, and it is going to lead us, and through us the world, out into pastures of quietness and peace such as the world never dreamed of before.

That was his last speech.

JOHN DOS PASSOS.

In the Tall Street

Where the crowds are whirled
Like wind-blown snow
Through the crannies of that steel world
They have made, I go

Searching, with eyes
Guarded, my unknown race,
Not for keen eyes, firm lips, the single feature,
But for a face.

Not for the lovely, the young,
The unmarked—not even the true—
Only the light that animates the flesh
Spirit shines through.

How many have I found?
Not many . . . perhaps not one . . .
I had not dreamed that life
So many had undone.

H. BONER.

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Washington Notes

The Future in Congress—Democratic Restraint —Statements from Rainey—Curbing Chaos—Mr. Hearst's Candidates

CONGRESS is in full swing again and for at least five months there will not be a break in the session. I know a considerable number of individuals in this vicinity who can tell you what Congress will do during this period, but none is worth listening to. The truth is that no man's judgment of the immediate political future can be relied upon. The reason, of course, is that the critical condition of the world makes the ordinary rules of politics untrustworthy. This fact, however, does not in the least discourage a certain breed of prophets, and it is easy enough to get any amount of dogmatic opinions about what Congress will do.

To be sure there are certain things about which no doubt exists. One is that Congress and the White House will differ on taxes and unemployment relief, just as they have already differed on foreign affairs. What makes for uncertainty is the potentiality of a crash in Europe that will seriously affect our situation and render completely ridiculous the more or less demagogic doctrines about debts and reparations that have been enunciated by statesmen of small caliber during the holidays. It is perfectly possible that within the next month the inability or unwillingness of our foreign debtors to resume payment at the end of the moratorium will have been made so convincingly clear that the congressional attitude forbidding further postponement or reduction will be so absurd that its champions will be anxious to forget ever having assumed it. In brief, the complete inability to tell what will happen in the next sixty days makes any effort to lay down a hard and fast foreign policy unsound.

The feeling of apprehension about the domestic economic situation, as well as the foreign, has not abated. On the contrary, the belief is pretty widely cherished that things are in no condition for the open political warfare with which so many Democrats were anxious to start the session. The idea has fairly well seeped in that the general reaction to that sort of thing would be unfavorable and would redound to the advantage of Mr. Hoover. Hence, I report a continuation of that policy of restraint noticed upon the part of Democratic leaders just before the Christmas recess.

The first evidence of this came from Mr. Henry Rainey, the official floor leader of the House majority. I should emphasize the word official because, as everyone knows, Speaker Garner is the real leader. One of the points about Mr. Rainey made by those who did not favor his selection as leader was that he talked too much on too many subjects, too often. Almost anyone who has followed this gentleman's long record as a House member will agree that this was a point well taken. Nevertheless, the claims of Mr. Rainey were so strong and the alternatives so weak that there was no way to sidetrack him.

It is the job of Mr. Garner to restrain him from a too great garrulity, and so far he has done the job thoroughly. He has not been able to prevent Mr. Rainey from issuing a [illegible] statements [illegible] to the skies the Democratic record of seventeen days and outlining a leadership program which for nobility and patriotism could hardly be surpassed. So long as these Rainey statements are approved in advance, so as to eliminate the possibility of dynamite, it seems to me sensible to let them proceed.

Their extraordinary length, of course, makes it a little uncertain how long the newspapers will continue to print them in full, as did The New York Times and The Herald Tribune last week, but their mere preparation is a relief to the word-choked system of the Democratic leader. In his last pronouncement Mr. Rainey did give notice that just as soon as the recommendations of the President for restoring the confidence of the country and improving economic conditions are dealt with, he expects to make some political speeches. If he waits until then he will not make very many.

I make these points about Mr. Rainey for the purpose of illustrating the present temper of the Democratic managers. They are, as I have before indicated, vastly concerned lest an outburst of partisanship create an unfavorable impression upon the country as a whole. They are aware that first impressions are generally exceedingly difficult to eradicate, and are making every effort to dispel the fear so often expressed that their party is incapable of functioning intelligently when given power. Up to date, it must be admitted, they have carried out this strategy with a considerable degree of success.

In Congress particularly the leaders are watching their step. Much of the care with which they are proceeding, I am convinced, is due to Mr. Garner, whose elevation to the speakership has had its effect. No one realizes more clearly than this Texan politician that the record of his party depends upon himself. No one is more anxious to avoid mistakes. His counsel is all along the lines of moderation. His idea is not to indict the administration until evidence enough to convict is in hand.

It is needless to say that there will be Democrats in the Senate and in the House who will not wait for the most effective moment before firing their guns, who will act as individuals rather than as party members. But my belief is that there will not be many of them and that their words will not be accepted as party utterances. What the Democrats are out to do this time is to give a demonstration of party unity right down the line. The difficulties in the way, with controversial questions on all sides and cross currents of sentiment running in the party, are obvious. None the less, such is the idea, and the tone of the Rainey statements, which are the result of "conferences," is one evidence of it. At any rate the prophecies of confusion have not yet been borne out. I do not know of anyone who thinks an orderly and completely disciplined party alignment can be preserved clean through to the end. There are bound to be breaks, sure to be a degree of chaos before the final adjournment. However, everybody will agree about the soundness of the Democratic desire to minimize it, and nearly everyone will applaud their success in the first two weeks. It is too short a time to judge but they have got a good start.

Thought of Mr. Garner brings to mind the most recent political declaration of William Randolph Hearst, who a week ago in the usual signed editorial came out for Garner

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as the Democratic nominee and Coolidge as the Republican. Each, in my judgment, is equally impossible, which Mr. Hearst probably knows as well as anyone else. Mr. Hearst lambasted both Hoover and Roosevelt, and cried to the parties to rise to their opportunities. The cry will go unheeded. It is as certain as anything can be in politics that Hoover will be nominated by the Republicans and that, if Roosevelt is not named by the Democrats, the nominee will be equally distasteful to Mr. Hearst—probably more so. This will give him his opportunity to advocate a third party and, if he chooses to finance it, there should be no difficulty in getting one started. You can always get candidates under those conditions. That they would get nowhere would not disappoint Mr. Hearst. He would have had his fun.

It is worth noting, however, that these Hearst political proclamations by no means have the impact they once had. I might add that the reason Garner's nomination is as improbable as that of Mr. Coolidge is that Mr. Garner happens to be a Dry. It is easy to believe that the Democratic platform will straddle the prohibition issue—in fact I think it very unlikely that it will do anything else. On the other hand, the candidate of the party is bound to be a Wet. To nominate a Dry would be to chill Democrats in every one of the great states of the East. It would anger and alienate many thousands of Democratic votes in the places where their support is most essential. It would throw every Wet Republican right back into his own party. It would spell ruination for the party prospects, all of which is so obvious that I have not the least hesitation in predicting that, whatever else may be done in the next national convention, a Dry candidate will not be chosen.

Washington. T. R. B.

Burleycue and Whimsy

"OF THEE I SING," now playing at the Music Box, New York City, is 50-percent burleycue and 50-percent Gilbert and Sullivan. The burleycue part comes first. It is so uproarious, so accurately insane, that it sweeps you in gales of belated laughter through later scenes which, on reflection, make you think of "The Mikado" as played by a pretty good company of amateurs from the Pittsburgh Athletic Club.

The opening tableau—a torch parade down any Main Street on the night before a national election—is an excellent idea, but the first spoken scene is even better. The Republican National Committee is drinking whiskey in a hotel room just after the convention. The Committee essentially consists of a Jewish comedian, an Irish comedian and a fat comedian, but the types aren't exaggerated: they look the part of practical and rather discouraged politicians. Having nominated a ticket—for President, John P. Wintergreen; for Vice President, somebody whose name they drew out of a hat—how are they going to win the election? The last administration has perpetrated some pretty sour deals, that business of stealing Rhode Island, for example. How are they going to find a slogan that will make the voters forget?

They ask the advice of the chambermaid, who is stupid enough to be an average voter. What does she want most in the world? She answers, "Money," but of course that won't do; money would suggest that ticklish business of Rhode Island. What else does she really want? This time she answers, "Love!" and the question is settled: this one word will be the slogan of the Republican campaign. The candidate, being a bachelor, will marry the winner of a bathing-beauty contest to be held in Atlantic City the following month. And the fat comedian, who owns a string of newspapers, wires Calvin Coolidge for a thousand-word editorial on Love.

All this—and indeed the whole of the first act—is excellent burleycue. At the bathing-beauty contest, poor Wintergreen is so overcome with embarrassment that instead of marrying the winner, Diana Devereaux, he takes refuge in the arms of Mary Turner, a pretty stenographer who can make corn muffins. He tours the country with her in a whirlwind campaign, proposing to her in each of the forty-eight states. There is a great mass meeting in Madison Square Garden, a setting designed by Jo Mielziner so as to give a feeling of crowds and hazy distances. Here a Senator bleats of love and the spirit of '76, while a radio announces a new Sharkey-Schmeling battle of the century and, simultaneously, two tired enormous wrestlers slip in and out of half-Nelsons and toe-holds, rising at intervals to salute the American flag. Even funnier are the election returns flashed on a bulletin board: Rutland, Vt., Wintergreen 162, scattering 1. A picture of John P. Wintergreen. A picture of Mary Turner. Richmond, Va., Wintergreen 17,362, Mason 10, Dixon 490, Mason and Dixon 500. A picture of the White House. A picture of Carnera. Lexington, Ky., Wintergreen 23,623, light wines and beers 410, straight whiskey 1,667,492. Bulletin: Three Missing New York State Counties Discovered in Nebraska. A picture of John P. Wintergreen casting his ballot, then another ballot. A picture of the White House. A picture of Roxy's Theatre. The MGM lion roaring in triumph. Wintergreen has carried all forty-eight states. . . . And at this point Messrs. George S. Kaufman and Morrie Ryskind, not satisfied with having written the best political extravaganza of this year or of many years, suddenly decide to go Gilbert and Sullivan.

Their plot continues to be amusing. Mr. and Mrs. Wintergreen, once installed in the White House, discover that a national campaign is being conducted against them by the jilted Diana Devereaux. She is supported by a low-comedy character, the French ambassador, who announces that the honor of France is at stake, since Diana is "the illegitimate daughter of the illegitimate son of the illegitimate nephew of Napoleon." More comedy is afforded by the new Vice President, poor Alexander Throttlebottom, who lives in Mrs. Feitlebaum's boarding house and can't borrow books from the public library because he can't give two references. The President, meanwhile, has been impeached before the Senate, but the trial is ended when Mrs. Wintergreen announces that she is going to have a baby, and the Senators in chorus sing "Posterity is just around the corner." It all sounds well enough when told, but when acted it gives a pretty muzzy impression. The Gilbert and Sullivan type of humor somehow fails to adapt itself to the burleycue traditions that underlie the American musical comedy. When American playwrights try to be Mikadoish, one always suspects them of aiming to improve their audience by giving it good soft

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wholesome whimsy. The audience doesn't really mind; it takes what it gets in this lean year and tries to like it; but judging from the applause given a few random jests, I should say that it would really prefer a political comedy in which the satire wasn't padded with 32-ounce gloves. It regards the real Washington as such a hilarious place that it feels the shadow of a grudge against the authors who transform it into a mythical Tokio full of Pooh-Bahs and Mikados. M. C.

After Mahler's "Ninth"

LIKE ALL musical audiences outside the Teutonic countries, the American musical public has never accepted Mahler's symphonies. The conductors none the less wish to perform them. Not only such disciples of Mahler as Bruno Walther and Artur Bodansky, but Muck and Mengelberg, Stokowski and Koussevitsky, have defied and continue to defy their audiences with presentations of his works. Thus, Mahler repeatedly figures on our programs, and Mahler and his music remain critical problems.

How largely abristle with doubts and uncertainties the composer and his music still are was apparent after the New York *première* of the Ninth Symphony, at the first of this season's Boston Symphony concerts. One found oneself in a state of division very similar to that created by all former presentations of Mahler's grandiose essays in the symphonic art. Again, it was evident that the matter was a large one, and the right pretty evenly divided between the conductors and the audience. The Ninth Symphony, like its predecessors, attracted by virtue of its architectural form, its melodiousness, its frequent subtleties not only of orchestration but of idea; above all, by virtue of its popularity in the word's larger sense. Mahler was not one of those who came to music to form little jewels. A common humanity persisted in him. He was one of the last musicians to whom it clung. But, like all the rest of his symphonies, this latest of them also repelled with its vacuities, its prolixities, its sentimentality. And the two contrary feelings locked their horns. One found oneself periodically enchanted by subtleties of idea and color, and disaffected by banality and bombast; won to sympathy with the composer by the warmth of his spirit, and thrown into opposition by the pettiness and childishness involved in it. The prospect of hearing over the slow first movement of the symphony allured. If any one symphonic movement of Mahler's is superb, and melodically distinguished and moving, it is this plangent, world-weary adagio. Yet the prospect of enduring the beery humors of the empty peasantlike scherzo and the dull rondo-burlesque a second time was equally terrifying. If the massive Bruckneresque finale was imposing, it nevertheless contained nothing which Mahler had not previously said, and said with relatively fresher accents.

Still, if the performance of the Ninth Symphony left the problem of Mahler and his music as acute as ever, it nevertheless enabled one to understand a little better the cause of the suspension of one's feelings. This benefit may have flowed from the fact that the work is an epilogue, a farewell to the lyre, filled with bitter, brooding, wistful song; the music of one who felt the cold of death's un- [illegible] As such it was inevitably compulsive of a sense of the man's whole life. The diagnosis may also have flowed from the fact that, contrasting the best and the worst of his product, the symphony epitomized it as a whole; and indicated the common root of good and bad. Whatever the cause, one found oneself convinced that Mahler's music sets one questioning and doubting for the reason that it itself, as music, insufficiently releases one's feelings. This is to say, his scores are fairly deficient in pure music, in the music rising from profoundest union with all things and loss of identity in the world-whole; and conveying that state of relaxation. Mahler essayed expression of this sort in many portions of his work. But glowing success came to him only once, in the last section of "Das Lied von der Erde"; and most of his efforts to attain it want breath, and become sentimental. It is as if he could not sustain feeling at an altitude, and had to help out recalcitrant inspiration with technical devices and footless recapitulations. It is noteworthy how few of his grandiose finales, charged with the business of releasing the tension excited by the preceding movements, serve their purpose. Mahler is most at home in ironic and parodistic expressions, as in the scherzo of the First Symphony, or in moods of weariness and resignation, as in the second section of "Das Lied von der Erde," or the first movement of the Ninth Symphony. There is a significance in the frequency with which his thoughts and emotions circle about death.

Besides, the great mass of Mahler's music is intentionally dramatic. Not only does he revel in theatric effects, in the mere spells of material mass and bulk; in subsidiary stage orchestras and gong and bell sounds of various kinds. His music is actually subservient to some literary idea or other; and while Mahler at times allowed the programmatic nature of his symphonies, and at others vehemently denied it, the dependency of his music is evident. It sets the stage, tells stories, brings events and scenes before our eyes as the theatre seeks to do. When Richard Strauss averred that he could not conduct the first movement of Mahler's Third Symphony unless he pictured to himself seried battalions of workmen marching to the Prater on May Day, he was merely indicating his belief that for his good confrère the idea, the picture, the emotion, and not the music, was the end: and his judgment strengthens our convictions. Moreover, these ideas and pictures seem singularly personal and autobiographical to us. What the world was to Gustav Mahler, and how it treated him, ineluctably haunt the mind while one listens. Was it mere wandering that, at the close of the first movement of the Ninth, and again in the last movement, conjured up the picture of a musician, perhaps Mahler himself, sitting broken, dreaming, dumb, his fingers idling among the strings of his beloved lute, half-hearkening to tones he had no will to sound, but that were sweet and kind with a sweetness and kindness the world did not have?

Certainly, the theory of the relative subserviency of the music would go far to explain Mahler's banalities. With the idea, the emotion, the picture, in view, any music that seemed to illustrate and body forth the non-musical idea would seem adequate to the composer. For was it not registering his feelings, his experiences; settling matters between himself and the world?

While the insufficiency of direct musical expression in

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the symphonies revealed itself the cause of the suspense which Mahler invariably calls up in his hearers, some personal confusion in the composer revealed itself the cause of the insufficiency of emotional release, the subserviency of the musical medium to literary and autobiographical interests. Was he not, surely, what Romain Rolland long ago called him, "an egoist who felt sincerely"? Or, better still, an egoist enjoying hours of sincere feeling? Had Mahler been merely egoistic, there would be no Mahler problem, no divison concerning his music. There would have been no music; and only autobiography. As it is, he left a quantity of music that gives pleasure as form, as rich, clangorous and delicate sonority, as popular and melodious expression; and a part of his work, at least, is therefore assured of a future. The time when conductors will have the wit to detach the living pages from the sick trunk of the whole work cannot be remote. Erich Kleiber has already made the experiment of playing the two serenades from the Seventh Symphony independently of the other movements; and his strategy had the immediate effect of settling the Mahler "problem." Koussevitsky could easily have obtained a similar effect with the first movement of the Ninth. Certain works, "Das Lied von der Erde" and the deeply moving "Kindertotenlieder," in particular, will probably survive integrally. But the rest will have to be edited, and the Mahlerites will have to choose between half the loaf or none of it at all. Certainly, to this hour, all the propaganda and willfulness of the conductors have not succeeded in giving them the whole loaf of the apotheosis they so stubbornly demand. PAUL ROSENFELD.

CORRESPONDENCE

Einstein's Proposals for Peace

SIR: I am surprised that liberal journals have not devoted more attention to the proposals offered by Einstein for the coming Disarmament Conference. As reported recently in The New York Times, Einstein has formulated plans to lay before the Conference the outlines of an international treaty, in accordance with which each signatory nation will bind itself to eliminate within its own borders compulsory military training, compulsory military service, conscription and draft in time of war, and to allow any and every individual citizen the right to refuse to aid war activities directly or indirectly. . . .

Not long ago in this country and in several European nations, following the Kellogg anti-war pact, movements were launched to organize those individuals who were ready to take an oath that in the event of war they would take no part whatsoever. Unfortunately, the legal ideology of our nationalistic political organizations makes such a declaration at least a minor form of sedition, in spite of the Kellogg treaty. Witness the case in which the majority of the Supreme Court upheld the right of the government to deny citizenship to those who refused to bear arms in time of war. Thus these anti-war movements proved abortive; they could not well come out into the open. . . .

It seems to the writer that Einstein's proposal is by far the soundest ever made for the elimination of war. The legalization of conscientious objection would strengthen the weak-hearted, and with the legal right to be outspoken on militarism and war, a genuine public opinion would be called into existence and a sure foundation for organization against war would be possible. Fantastic as it may seem to some, in the end it is far more important to legalize the individual's right to make his own decision in time of war than to reduce armaments. At best, with smaller navies and armies war can be made momentarily less destructive; but as soon as warfare is in full sway it would require the most naïve optimism to believe that all the reductions of thirty years will not be made up in one. But if the threat were constantly before governments that only those citizens who were militant and war-minded would participate in its consummation, governments would hesitate to declare war without a public referendum. In such a case the time and the organization would be available for mobilizing the saner elements of mankind.

I am of course not sanguine enough to think that Einstein's proposal is likely to be made part of international law at the Disarmament Conference. But it seems to me that liberals should be making their concerted effort to force this measure into the consciousness of the world before the Conference and by means of the Conference, instead of frittering away effort in the vain hope that sincere attempts are going to be made at the Conference to eliminate armaments.

Palisades Park, N. J. ALEXANDER LESSER.

The Second Caribbean Seminar

SIR: The Seminar in the Caribbean was launched last winter by the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America as an experiment in bringing leaders here into something more than casual touch with the leaders of the Caribbean republics. The experiment met with so enthusiastic and appreciative a response both here and in the Caribbean that we feel justified in planning to repeat it this winter. We are therefore announcing the Second Seminar for the dates January 23 to February 10 (inclusive from New York).

We will, this year, have programs in Porto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Santo Domingo, Panama, Haiti and Cuba. A few of the members will omit the visit to Panama and spend a week in Santo Domingo and Haiti, motoring over the island, visiting various island cities and the Citadel of Christophe. The Seminar offers a stimulating introduction to the life and problems of the Caribbean area, combined with an opportunity for rest and recreation.

The faculty will include Lincoln Steffens, Chester Lloyd Jones, Ernest Gruening, Thomas E. Benner, Leland H. Jenks, Samuel Guy Inman and Charles Thomson.

Any of your readers who may be interested in applying for membership in the Seminar should address me at 112 East Nineteenth Street, New York City.

HUBERT C. HERRING.

New York City.

The Oldest Profession

SIR: Both in Mr. Bliven's interesting article on "Love and Religion in Russia" and in the editorial paragraph published in your issue of December 30, The New Republic seems to suggest that prostitution is a result of economic injustice. A little consideration would indicate that this is not quite true; that prostitutes, like artists, are born and not made. The unemployed women discovered last spring subsisting on a few bananas a day had no thought of turning to prostitution to eke out their starvation rations; any number of working girls who have been making two-dollars' worth of flour and potatoes last three weeks would walk off the Fifty-ninth Street Bridge before starting for the "easiest way." Also—and this is a point usually overlooked—pretty faces, clothes and freshness are qualifications for any paying job in Mrs. Warren's boarding house. The lily of the field more than any other female employee finds herself employed at starvation rates, or thrown into the ashcan, when she shows signs of wilting. Returns diminish in proportion to attractiveness, especially in these days of emancipation of women—so convenient to the masculine gender—when so many well born, economically secure, scab recruits of social advantage are cutting into the solidarity of the profession, for nothing more than an adventure or flattery.

Women out of jobs do need help, but not to keep them from prostitution. In the provisions for unemployment assistance they have been considered less than men; fewer relief agencies are open to them. Also, fewer women apply for relief than men. The need is for agencies to which women of pride and independence—not potential prostitutes—can turn, and in which they will receive aid uninjurious to their self-respect.

New York City. MARIAN CLARK.

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The Other America

Caribbean Backgrounds and Prospects, by Chester Lloyd Jones. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 354 pages. $4.

The Struggle for South America, by J. F. Normano. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 294 pages. $4.

America Hispana, by Waldo Frank. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 388 pages. $3.50.

The Capitalists and Colombia, by Fred J. Rippy. New York: The Vanguard Press. 292 pages. $2.

Porto Rico: A Broken Pledge, by Bailey W. and Justine White Diffie. New York: The Vanguard Press. 252 pages. $2.

The Cuban Situation and Our Treaty Relations, by Philip G. Wright. Washington: The Brookings Institution. 207 pages. $2.50.

THIS YEAR'S CROP of books dealing with Latin America falls into two baskets. The first assortment, which includes volumes by Messrs. Frank, Normano and Jones, attempts to deal with the economic and cultural conflict which has resulted from the uncontrolled onrush of Western industrialism over Latin America. The second group comprises more detailed studies of the policy of the United States government toward particular Latin American territories.

Of the three writers in the first group, Professor Jones —because his standards are frankly noncultural—is the most optimistic. He finds that, as a result of the march of industrialism, economic progress in the Caribbean and Central American countries since 1900 has been rapid. He traces in detail the increased production of the leading raw materials, such as sugar, coffee, petroleum and bananas; likewise he discusses the course of public loans and private investments. Social progress, he finds, has been irregular, particularly in the field of education. There are only two republics in the whole of Latin America—Argentina and Costa Rica—where the percentage of illiteracy is less than 25. Valuable as this survey may be to general readers, it is seriously marred by its lack of discrimination. Nowhere does the author adequately consider the social problems created by the sugar industry in Cuba and Porto Rico; nor does he even mention the controversies with local governments in which leading American corporations, such as the United Fruit Company and the American and Foreign Power Company, are frequently involved.

Dr. J. F. Normano, a Brazilian writer, undertakes a more ambitious task than Professor Jones. In "The Struggle for South America," he finds that a commercial and cultural revolt against the United States is taking place throughout this area. Our economic foothold in Latin America is threatened not only by European traders and governments who are attempting to recover the trade recently lost to the United States, but by a number of intellectual movements, such as Hispano-Americanism and Latin Americanism, which are challenging the Pan-Americanism fostered by Washington. There is no doubt, Dr. Normano says, that Pan-Americanism is faced by growing opposition. The sense of continental unity among the Latin American peoples is growing even in Argentina, which at one time demonstrated European sympathies.

Dr. Normano does not believe that there is any real basis for the *Peligro Yanqui;* he sees no economic or cultural danger from American capital but, regardless of whether the fear of the United States is justified, he assures us that Latin American continentalism will continue to grow. One country, because of a different culture and history, may remain aloof from this movement. Brazil, Dr. Normano believes, should enter into a political understanding with the United States in order to restore the equilibrium threatened by Latin Americanism. This constructive proposal seems fanciful; and the value of the volume as a whole would have been enhanced if Dr. Normano had examined with a little more care the nature of American industrialism and of the North American foreign policy to which so many Latin Americans so strongly object. Nevertheless the book is welcome as an interesting summary and criticism of the opinions held by Latin American intellectuals.

In contrast with these two authors, who confine themselves chiefly to the externals of the problem, Mr. Waldo Frank makes a reverent and profound attempt to probe the souls of the North and Latin American peoples. In a book of great beauty and power, he deals with all the Spanish American peoples from a new standpoint, that of comparative civilization. His purpose is to grasp the principle of integration that unites Cuba and Chile, Mexico and Peru. This principle, he believes, is fundamentally religious. Underlying the cultures both of pre-Columbian America and of Catholic Spain, he finds a common "religious" attitude toward life, an immanent sense of the unity of the individual with the Whole. The union of Indian with Spaniard is, however, still imperfect, and for this reason the Latin American has not been able to reembody past ideals into terms of existence; he feels dispossessed in the modern world.

The situation of the United States is vastly different: it has developed discipline, but lacks the religious spirit. Mr. Frank has a low opinion of his fellow countryman. "Religion has waned in him: his capacity to create and to experience beauty and to know truth" has disappeared, if indeed it ever existed. His folk arts—journal, movie, story—are "venal"; his dwellings, for all their towering, are "flimsy"; his woman "remains shrilly adolescent." Machine is master. Mr. Frank's thesis is that Latin America should adopt the technique of the United States and that the United States should adopt the "religious" attitude of Latin America—and presto! we shall have a new civilization.

Mr. Frank has approached the subject of Latin America with an unusual sympathy which will gain him an appreciative audience among our southern neighbors. He seems to be the first northern writer in recent years to familiarize himself with the history and present trends of Latin American culture. Nevertheless, important as is the book, its fundamental thesis is open to at least two criticisms. In the first place, the real test of what Mr. Frank calls a "religious" attitude toward life is not the customs of primitive civilizations or the lyrics of modern writers. The real test is the kind of opportunity which present-day society gives to the individual to develop his relationship to the "Whole." One cannot be accused of lacking sympathy with Latin America if one states that life in the southern continent is marked by an indifference to human suffering which is shocking to the Anglo-Saxon world. Today Indian peoples are still abused by such practices as peonage; there is little social legislation, and women occupy a status far inferior to that of their sisters in the North. Long before the advent of the North American capitalist, Latin American dictators repeatedly drenched their countries in blood, not for the sake of any ideal, but to satisfy personal lust. Today the universities are in a pitiful condition and, at least in the social sciences, there are few outstanding

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scholars. How can the United States be expected to find spiritual salvation in a continent the material conditions of which are so devastating to individual development?

Secondly, admitting that Mr. Frank's thesis is sound—that every civilization must have a basis in a unifying idea—it follows that to make a cultural amalgam of the technique of the North and the "religious" attitude of the South is quite impossible. Should a composer attempt to weave together the most moving passages of two symphonies, the result would be either a collection of discords or a meaningless medley. Both the United States and Latin America must undergo drastic self-regeneration if they are to become civilized countries; but in view of the radically different tradition of each semi-hemisphere, it seems neither possible nor desirable that this regeneration should proceed along Hispano-American lines. Yet in spite of Mr. Frank's thesis, which cannot be accepted for these reasons, and in spite of his indiscriminate anger against the United States, his book remains an intellectual achievement of high importance.

While the remaining books under consideration touch incidentally upon this cultural conflict which Mr. Frank and Dr. Normano discuss at length, they are primarily concerned with the policy of the United States toward various Caribbean countries. In his book on "The Capitalists and Colombia," Professor Rippy deals mainly with one illustration of this policy of economic imperialism—the development of Colombian oil by American concerns. He shows that these concerns were allowed to operate only after the United States had made reparation for carving the republic of Panama out of Colombia's territory in 1903, and tells of the treaty drawn up by President Wilson, expressing "sincere regret" for an incident of which his arch-enemy, one T. Roosevelt, had been the author, and agreeing to pay hush money of $25,000,000. On this treaty our high-minded Senate declined to take action until Messrs. Lodge and Fall discovered that its failure to do so worked against the interests of American oil barons. Then, after striking out the "regret" clause, the Senate approved the agreement. . . . It is possible, however, to exaggerate the importance of economic considerations in the foreign policy of the United States. Mr. Rippy does not mention President Roosevelt's libel suit against The New York World and the congressional hearings on the Rainey resolution. These events, which also paved the way for the 1914 apology treaty with Colombia, were inspired primarily by political motives.

American capital in Colombia is also interested in the banana business. For some inexplicable reason, Mr. Rippy relegates the discussion of this extensive enterprise to his conclusion, where, in one of the most important statements in his book, he casually mentions that "the alleged or actual presence of two cruisers [U. S.] at Santa Marta in December, 1928, stimulated General Cortes Vargas to more vigorous efforts in suppressing a strike in the banana zone where the United Fruit Company has large investments."

Undoubtedly the most important of these six publications, next to Mr. Frank's, is Mr. and Mrs. Diffie's book on Porto Rico. The gist of their case is as follows:

> There are, no doubt, laborers in the world whose condition is worse than that of the Porto Rican, but the more than one million American citizens living in the Island have none of life's comforts and few of its necessities. Talk of the blessings of American occupation sounds hollow enough to the peasant born in a leaky pole-and-straw hut, such as his ancestors used four hundred years ago; growing up without shoes, past the United States government has used political means clothing or sufficient nourishment; contracting the hook-worm disease in the land where its cause and cure were discovered, and where its discoverer, Dr. Bailey K. Ashford, has labored in vain for a generation because he had not sufficient funds and because the people are too miserably poor to buy the absolutely indispensable shoes which prevent the spread of the disease; forced to work through life for twelve to fifteen hours a day in order to earn sixty or seventy cents; with no bed, chair, mirror, table or lavatory in his home; forced to see his children follow his example, with scant or no education; and if he falls ill or dies, dependent on charity for treatment or burial.

The authors severely criticize the United States for devoting a third of the budget contributed by Porto Rican taxpayers to the purpose, primarily, of teaching English to children many of whom will never see the ocean. They accuse the United States of not having made any serious effort to stamp out atrocious insanitary conditions: diphtheria, typhoid and tuberculosis are actually increasing. The only people to profit from this regime are the sugar corporations. Aided by a discriminatory tariff regime and the failure to enforce a restrictive land law, foreign sugar and tobacco growers have acquired land formerly devoted to foodstuffs, with the result that today, while the wage level in Porto Rico is excessively low, the cost of food is extremely high. The leading companies, escaping a fair share of taxation because of gross under-assessment, have averaged dividends of from 10 to 30 percent annually. Almost continuously for the last thirty-two years Porto Rico has had a "favorable" balance of trade, but the excess of exports over imports constitutes to a large extent the tribute of Porto Rico to Wall Street.

In certain respects the social conditions in Cuba approach in seriousness the situation in Porto Rico—and here again the policy of the United States is partly responsible. In his present book, Mr. Philip Wright of the Brookings Institution gives us a study of the Pearl of the Antilles from both the political and the economic standpoint. His discussion of the political relations between the United States and Cuba (which revolve around the Platt Amendment) leaves much to be desired. Apparently the author is not familiar with all the secondary English sources on this subject, to say nothing of the Spanish ones. Nevertheless, the book redeems itself when it discusses the sugar industry, and the part played in the development of this industry by the Platt Amendment and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1902. Mr. Wright demonstrates that the Reciprocity Treaty was of distinct benefit to Cuba during the early years; though recently these advantages have largely disappeared owing to the high-tariff policy of the United States. Meanwhile, the accentuated development of sugar has brought serious social consequences to the Cuban people. The loudly advertised Chadbourne plan may bring about a temporary increase in the price of sugar, but Mr. Wright believes that this will last only long enough to enable New York holders to unload their Cuban securities upon an unsuspecting public; the last state of the Cuban people may be worse than the first. In Mr. Wright's opinion, Cuba's only salvation lies in ridding itself of dependence upon the single crop of sugar, and learning to produce the foodstuffs which now form such a large proportion of its imports. Yet, so long as the Platt Amendment and Reciprocity Treaty are still in force, Cuba will remain an appanage of the United States, unable to bring about agrarian reform or to overthrow a despotic government.

Thus the last three writers clearly indicate that in the

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to promote American business interests in Latin American countries and that, in the case of Cuba and Porto Rico at least, the result has been seriously to injure the native populations. In view of this politico-economic policy, and in view of our political interventions in the Caribbean area, it is easy to understand why Dr. Normano fears that a union between South America and Europe against the United States may materialize. There may be no danger of such a union. Nevertheless, if this country wishes to correct social injustices for which it has been in part responsible, and if it wishes to lay a firm foundation for cooperation, not only with Latin America, but with the whole outside world, it will relinquish the control which it still exercises over Cuba, Haiti, Nicaragua and Central America, and will consider the internationalization of the Panama and Nicaragua Canals. The adoption of such a policy by the State Department—and the Hoover administration has already taken steps in this direction—would not solve the cultural problems with which Mr. Frank is so vitally concerned; but it would create a fresh atmosphere in the Western world which should stimulate true cultural development.

RAYMOND LESLIE BUELL.

Local Color

A Buried Treasure, by Elizabeth Madox Roberts. New York: The Viking Press. $2.50.

IN RURAL Kentucky there are two social classes, merging into each other by slow gradations of wealth, forming parts of the same local culture and yet, in perspective, terribly distinct: there are the farmers, merchants, bankers, lawyers on the one side, and the share-croppers, the renters, the field hands on the other—in a word, the landed against the landless. Miss Roberts belongs to the first class and usually writes about the second. Yet, in her best work, she never writes from above: she avoids the vices of patronage and sentimentalization to which her position would naturally expose her. She doesn't laugh at people like Ellen Chesser; she leaves pity to the reader; she breathes herself into Ellen, dwells within Ellen, lends color to the other characters by seeing them through Ellen's eyes. "The Time of Man" is a very fine novel, almost a great novel; to compare it with Synge's dramas is not praising it too highly. But the imaginative effort that invokes a heroine like Ellen Chesser is more fatiguing than most of us suspect. Synge himself, if he had continued to write about his Arran Islanders, might have ended by betraying them to the cultured reader—by saying, or seeming to say, "Aren't these people quaint?"

Fatigue, rather than quaintness, is the defect of "A Buried Treasure." Once more Miss Roberts is writing of her Pigeon River country, but not from within: this time she writes from a distance at which landscapes and emotions are blended into a weary haze. Andy Blair and his wife Philly unearth a kettleful of gold. This treasure, in an accidental way, brings about the marriage of Philly's cousin Imogene with Giles Wilson. It also threatens to transform Andy into a miser, but he finally proves, after a play-party on midsummer's night, that the danger has been avoided. Set against these humble people is an intruder from Miss Roberts' own social order, a boy (or girl in long pants) called Ben Shepherd, who moons about, and soliloquizes about *terra,* the earth. One suspects him of being a symbolic character—another way of saying that he is tiresome and unreal.

The wheat harvest also plays a part in the story. Ripe grain in the Pigeon River country is cut and tied into bundles by a strange mule-drawn apparatus which the reader finally recognizes as a binder, though Miss Roberts refers to it variously as a "reaper," a "mower" and a "cutting machine." The work is completed by midsummer's day, June 21, a date which would be premature for southern Oklahoma, let alone the Kentucky hills. These errors are trifling in themselves. The worst thing that can be said about "A Buried Treasure" is that, being written from without, from above, it is the sort of novel in which mere facts are important. It is disturbing to find that Philly Blair insists on calling an egg-eating hen "the old pullet"—which is exactly like saying "the old calf." If the mistake is the author's, it really doesn't matter. But if the mistake is intended to be Philly's, it would lead one to suspect that the author is patronizing her principal character, is parading Philly's naïveté for the benefit of Westchester and Long Island readers, is giving them another opportunity to exclaim, "How quaint of her. Isn't Miss Roberts' new novel full of local color!"

MALCOLM COWLEY.

Ironmaster

Incredible Carnegie, by John K. Winkler. New York: The Vanguard Press. 307 pages. $3.50.

> Andrew Carnegie, I suspect, was the greediest little gentleman ever created.
>
> As an infant in a high chair, he beat a loud tattoo upon the table, enforcing a demand for two spoons wherewith to shovel double portions of porridge into his mouth.

THUS, with what might be called an oliver twist, Mr. Winkler begins what the publishers call not "a mere life of Andrew Carnegie," but "an epic of the great steel industry of this nation." On page 5, after quoting a memorandum made by Carnegie in 1868, Mr. Winkler inquires dramatically: "Ah, Andy, did surge of ambition, lust for power, greed for gold 'degrade you beyond hope of permanent recovery'?" In the course of the narrative, one gathers that Mr. Winkler thinks it did, but he fails to make the process comprehensible.

There seems to be no development, no cumulative intensification of the Carnegie greed, as its possessed goes on from deal to deal. The Scottish ironmaster would appear always to have been as full of cunning and swinishness as his skin could hold. The note struck in Mr. Winkler's first paragraphs—already quoted—is carried into Carnegie's boyhood, when we see our hero crashing through a waiting line of old women to fill his bucket at the village well first. It is difficult to conceive "recovery" as a possibility for one who, from the cradle, has demanded more than his share of everything he thinks worth taking. The Carnegie projects grow larger as his career progresses; but such growth does not convincingly reflect a corresponding development of greed in the enterpriser. From high-chair to wheel-chair, Mr. Winkler's Carnegie is compound of insistence, cajolery and an open maw, with, "down at the core of him . . . a jet of tenderness" which enabled him to kiss his victims wide open when he could by no other means render them helpless for the kill.

The book contains interesting information on the steel business, including the Homestead strike, and is readable throughout. Beyond that, nothing. The figure it pictures is neither credible as a man nor significant as a sociological symptom.

MURRAY GODWIN.

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Wagner and Newman

The Women in Wagner's Life, by Julius Kapp. Translated by Hannah Waller. New York: Afred A. Knopf. 284 pages. $4.

Richard Wagner, by Paul Bekker. Translated by M. M. Bozman. New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 522 pages. $5.

Fact and Fiction About Wagner, by Ernest Newman. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 318 pages. $3.50.

THESE BOOKS are evidence of the continuing interest in Wagner's personality and work. Kapp and Newman make use of the source material which has become available in recent years, and which clears up many obscure or disputed points about Wagner's life; Bekker's "Richard Wagner," though it has just been translated from the German, is an older book.

In Kapp's words, "Love is the focus of Wagner's existence, the source of his creative power. . . . Each of his works, from the first chaotic fragment: "Die Hochzeit," to the sublimated swan-song: "Parsifal," is either inspired, or definitely influenced as it progresses, by some personal experience." Kapp therefore gives the history of these numerous experiences, without, however, indicating as he goes along how they affected Wagner's works. Only in a short final chapter does he do this and do it very well. One may also contend that he should have treated the incidents more fully, and matched truth with the falsehoods published by Wagner and his circle.

Bekker attempts what Kapp has left undone; and does not limit himself to Wagner's experiences with women. He holds that music, for Wagner, was expression—expression of personal experience—experience in obedience to the command of the "Will to Expression." And he works out this relation in detail. There are things in the book which one recognizes, but they are elaborated and lost in tortuous reasoning that obscures what it sets out to make clear. Readers should not be misled by what is familiar into thinking that what is tortuously obscure is profound, as they were in the case of Bekker's "Story of Music."

Newman's book has several points of interest. First, by a most painstaking analysis and comparison of source material he establishes certain facts about Wagner, as against current myths and the fabrications of Hurn's and Root's "Truth About Wagner." Most important among these facts, perhaps, is that Wagner's music was appreciated and accepted with enthusiasm by the general public almost from the very start; and that opposition came only from a few musicians, professors, journalists and officials whom he had antagonized and who resented his popular success in the face of their opposition. This is important in relation to the belief that genius is never appreciated in its own time, a belief prominent in recent discussions of contemporary music which the general public has not liked.

Second, Newman gives us insight into the procedure of those who write about music. He points out that myths have grown up because writers have accepted them one from another, instead of going to sources (while Messrs. Hurn and Root simply produced evidence out of their own minds, which Newman thinks were none too good). Thus, they have gone on copying from one another examples of the abuse that was hurled at Wagner in his lifetime; whereas if they had gone to the source of the quotations, the "Schimpflexikon" of Wilhelm Tappert, they would have discovered that the book was intended to demonstrate the stupidity of Wagner's critics, to a public which would appreciate that it was stupidity.

For an American, Newman's book has special interest in that it demonstrates the vigor of English musical criticism as against the insipidity of our own. Certain English critics have minds and use them: they deal with every issue, they attack, they defend. We have no one with the intellectual power of Newman; and Lawrence Gilman, one of the two or three American critics of consequence, neglects important issues or treats them inadequately, to devote himself to belles lettres. Newman, in this book and elsewhere, mentions his colleague W. J. Turner by name and thrashes him publicly. When Mr. Gilman did get around to mentioning Mr. Chotzinoff, it was to talk about "a quick and warm responsiveness . . . a guarding sense of measure and restraint," a style that was "spare, expressive, precise."

It is true that the English have the defect of their virtue: their debates are tooth-and-nail affairs. Newman would do anything—and has done it—rather than admit an error; and in this book he does not say: "In my 'Wagner as Man and Artist' I accepted uncritically certain statements of Mrs. Burrell about the authorship of Wagner's 'My Life' which, now that I have investigated them, I find untrue. I accepted them because of the evidence, which I presented, that Wagner's letters had been tampered with by the powers at Wahnfried. Messrs. Hurn and Root in turn accepted and used uncritically what I said." Newman will not admit an error, and his tone is insufferable—not only because he is a debater, but because his deserved fame has made him self-conscious and overbearing. But this defect—to repeat—is chiefly an excess of intellectual vigor, which is preferable in excess than not at all.

B. H. Haggin.

Book Notes

Belles Lettres

A HISTORY OF GERMAN LITERATURE, by J. G. Robertson. *New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 752 pages. $5.*

The original edition of this volume, published in 1902, was regarded as standard in its field. Besides making revisions in the light of contemporary critical opinion, replacing the footnotes of the earlier edition with a bibliography of seventy pages, and adding a chronological table, the author has brought his work up to date by adding two illuminating chapters on the twentieth century.

LITERARY CRITICISM IN AMERICA, by George E. DeMille. *New York: The Dial Press. 300 pages. $3.50.*

Important as the subject is, and much as one could wish to congratulate a pioneer (with the exception of Foerster's very special volume, this book is the first in the field), Mr. DeMille's treatment of American criticism is too sketchy, too little unified philosophically, too flabby in its own critical musculature, to add much either to our knowledge or to our understanding of the question. Whitman's criticism, the most important in the American nineteenth century, is entirely passed over; and long chapters are devoted to Lowell and E. C. Stedman. The statement is made that Thoreau alone, among his contemporaries and compatriots, elicited Emerson's critical approval—as if the famous letter about "Leaves of Grass" had not been written. J. G. Huneker and the late Stuart Sherman are treated almost wholly on their own terms, and Mr. DeMille confesses that "There are moods in which one is disposed to call Huneker the greatest of American critics." He qualifies this judgment at once as "probably excessive," but it gives a clue to the caliber of his criticism.

Biography

THE PERSECUTION OF MARY STEWART, by Edward Parry. *New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 364 pages. $5.*

Sir Edward Parry's version of the story of Mary, Queen of Scots, is a study in criminology. Mary is presented as the victim

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of a conspiracy among her foes—the Earl of Moray, her illegitimate brother; the Laird of Lethington, Secretary of Scotland; and the Earl of Morton, son of her father's enemy—who, for political and religious reasons wish her destruction, and commit murder and forgery to achieve it. Sir Edward states that his book is written because, while it is too late to punish the criminals even should their crime be proven, it is still possible "to establish and proclaim to the world the principle of justice." This the present work attempts to do in a sincere and scholarly manner.

THE TRAGIC QUEEN: A Study of Mary, Queen of Scots, by Andrew Dakers. Boston: *Houghton Mifflin Company. 319 pages. $5.*

The chief contribution made by this book to the story of Mary, Queen of Scots, lies in Mr. Dakers' new interpretation of the Casket Letters and the Crawford Disposition. In his effort to clear the Queen of what he considers to be unjust charges of murder and immorality, made by prejudiced historians, the author's enthusiasm results in the painting of a personality which occasionally seems a little too good to be true.

A SEASON IN HELL: The Life of Rimbaud, by Jean-Marie Carré. *Translated by Hannah and Matthew Josephson. New York: The Macaulay Company. 312 pages. $3.*

This, the most complete biography of Rimbaud so far published, traces his enigmatic career from his birth in the provincial town of Charleville to his death in the cosmopolitan city of Marseilles. The author, who indulges in no occult psychological explanations of Rimbaud's repudiation of literature, presents much new material on his subsequent career of exploration and discovery in the palpable world. Matthew Josephson, a co-translator of the book, has supplied an introductory essay on Rimbaud which was published in The New Republic of October 14, 1931. The volume also contains translations by various hands of some of Rimbaud's better known works—notably "A Season in Hell," "Le Bateau Ivre" and several shorter poems.

History

ROME AND THE ROMANS: A Survey and Interpretation, by Grant Showerman. *New York: The Macmillan Company. 664 pages. $5.*

This book addresses itself to the general reader as well as to the student of Roman history. It gives a pleasing account of life in ancient Rome, private and public. The fine typography and numerous illustrations add to its attractiveness. The only fault to be found with it is that it is all too pleasing; the darker sides of Roman civilization are ignored or slurred over. Among the forty-six chapters there is not one that treats of slavery, which reached monstrous proportions, or of the provincial administration, which was notoriously rapacious and corrupt. Nothing is said of the enormous concentration of wealth or the monopolization of land in the hands of a few, which reduced the masses of slaves and proletarians to utter despair and drove them to seek consolation in the other-worldliness of the new religion; or of the frightful corruption of manners and morals to which even the heroes—a Julius Caesar, a Marc Antony—succumbed; or of the dreaded *patria potestas,* which assimilated the family to the slaves and caused the father to be hated as well as feared by his children. Professor Showerman's enthusiasm about Rome and the Romans is humanly appealing, as well as being in the humanistic tradition; but college students nowadays might well be given a fuller realism and a larger truth.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE MEDITERRANEAN REGION: Its Relation to Ancient History, by Ellen Churchill Semple. *New York: Henry Holt and Company. 737 pages, illustrated. $4.*

Before writing this economic geography of the ancient Mediterranean world, the professor of Anthropogeography at Clark University engaged in two types of research. She made extensive travels through most of the Mediterranean basin, and she read the ancient authors, even the obscurest ones, who treated of tillage, herding, forestry or trade. The bibliography of a single chapter, that on "Pastures and Stock-Raising," lists 249 references to authorities beginning with Xenophon, Theophrastus, Callimachus, and extending through the "Georgics" and the Book of Isaiah to Polybius, Arrian, Strabo and Pindar. This quiet wealth of allusion lends richness to her own style, which without it would be as bare and factual as a storage warehouse. Sometimes, however, she reveals an unexpected wit, as when she remarks of the Mediterranean weather-gods that "They were irascible deities, especially Jehovah. The divine tempers varied with the variability of the rainfall, and tended to increase in serenity from the eastern toward the western end of the Mediterranean region." Professor Semple believes that the relation between man and nature in the Mediterranean world has changed but little since the dawn of history. The deforestation of the mountain slopes has impoverished many districts; the introduction of malaria from Africa, an event of historic times, has depopulated the marshlands where cattle and horses once pastured by thousands; but these altered conditions of life around the Inland Sea are less to be emphasized than are the unchanging features of climate and topography to which successive empires react in the same fashion. Professor Semple mentions reclamation projects which were begun by the Etruscans, carried forward by the Emperor Claudius, and some of which are now being completed at the orders of Mussolini.

Psychology

THE JUNGLE OF THE MIND, by Edgar James Swift. *New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 340 pages. $2.50.*

That most men and women spend a large part of their waking lives submitting to, inviting and even enjoying deceptions at their own expense is no news to the observant. But the ways and means of deceit—the Morphology of Woolgathering, so to speak—are not so well understood. In this informative book, one of our best known popular psychologists enlarges on the theme that "charlatanry rivals racketeering in profits, and the educated are the most promising victims." It is an amusing and rather tawdry story, and Professor Swift tells it with much journalistic gusto. Astrology, palmistry, numerology, spiritualism and their relatives; mind-reading, faith-healing, hypnotism and suggestion; personality cults; the power of words and of pseudo-science over mortal mind; prodigies, human and animal; dreams, complexes and the whole "jungle" of the unconscious—all are shown making merry with *homo sapiens* who, as the genial racketeer might say, "buys their beer and likes it." An excellent book for those who enjoy the spectacle of human credulity, and are not too exacting in the matter of style and philosophic depth.

WHY WE OPPOSE THE OCCULT, by Emile Cailliet. *Translated by George Franklin Cole. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 200 pages. $2.*

This book is a contribution to the study of what David Starr Jordan once called "sciosophy," or the Higher Foolishness. The author, a professor of Romanic languages and philosophy, observing the peculiar horror of the occult which besets most civilized men and women, wondered just how much of this reaction was due to sound reasoning and how much to an unreasoning, overdetermined fear. On the basis of this interesting question, he proceeded to investigate the realm of the supernatural, employing the methods of comparative anthropology familiar to readers of Andrew Lang, Emile Durkheim and Lévy-Bruhl. His book is thus a study of customs and beliefs relating to magic, witchcraft, demonology, spiritualism and their auxiliaries. The many strange facts brought together tend to show that occultism (or "metapsychics") is a persistent attitude of the human mind, openly repudiated but slyly effective even in the "rationalist" work of such men as Bergson, Oliver Lodge and—André Gide. As an attempt to illustrate "cultural lag" from an obscure angle, Professor Cailliet's well documented essay is most suggestive—and far from favorable to C. S. Peirce's view of men as "in the main logical animals."

World Politics

CHINA IN REVOLUTION, by Harley Farnsworth MacNair. *The University of Chicago Press. 255 pages. $2.50.*

The author of this book lived several years in China and is professor of Far Eastern History and Institutions at the University

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of Chicago. The subtitle: "An Analysis of Politics and Militarism under the Republic," offers a very good idea of the scope of the book. There is perhaps too much attention given to the doings of large-scale bandits and brigands, who in China (as occasionally elsewhere) are styled politicians and generals, and too little to economic conditions, class differentiation and social relations. The general impression produced by the book is that the Chinese revolution has been making no headway, that in fact there has been thus far no revolution, but only a protracted process of dissolution; just such an impression as one gathers from reading Gibbon's chapters on the Roman empire during the third century of our era. And outside of the treaty ports, China resembles the Roman empire much more than it does modern Europe or America. Even the so-called communist movement in China, which has spread over a large territory with fifty or sixty million people, appears to be an old-style peasant revolt, which there is no authority strong enough to suppress. It still seems a question whether Chinese society at present contains the elements that are capable of imparting new life-forms to the old and decayed order.

EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN JAPAN, by F. C. Jones. *New Haven: Yale University Press. 236 pages. $3.*

In this sound historical study, Mr. Jones traces the origin and overthrow of the consular jurisdiction of foreign powers in Japan. During the early seventies the Japanese had come to regard foreign courts not only as an infringement upon their sovereignty, but as an imputation of racial inferiority. The abolition of these courts became the major issue in Japanese foreign policy during the next two decades; it caused the downfall of Cabinets and the near-assassination of a famous minister, Count Okuma. While attempting to reform its legal and judicial administration to meet foreign needs, the Japanese government carried on separate negotiations with foreign governments to obtain full judicial and tariff autonomy. Finding these separate negotiations ineffective, it next attempted to obtain its ends by the instrumentality of conferences with the representatives of the powers at Tokio. Joint action failed, however—partly because of the attitude of the United States. The efforts of the Japanese government were finally rewarded by the Aoki-Kimberley Treaty of July, 1894, in which the British government, despite the protest of the residents in the Treaty Ports, surrendered its judicial privileges. The outcome of the agreement, so far as the British were concerned, was the Anglo-Japanese alliance. Having thus gained the support of Great Britain, the Japanese government soon induced the other powers to surrender their extraterritorial rights. By 1899 Japan had established its complete judicial and tariff independence. Made cautious by this experience with Japan, the great powers (except Russia and Germany) today have presented concerted opposition to the demands of present-day China for tariff and judicial autonomy. When will the Chinese diplomats be able to emulate the Japanese example and break down this united front?

Fiction

RETURN I DARE NOT, by Margaret Kennedy. *New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.*

A week-end party in an English country house provides the setting and acoustics for the rivalries of a group of smart-set characters whose lives are mired in futility and whose tragedy is that they don't want anything badly enough to take it. The successful dramatist Hugo Pott alone is saved; love shows up his perverted values and he rushes off abroad to preserve his newly gained sanity and invite his soul. Miss Kennedy's brilliant dialogue dissects and illuminates, but her skill deserves better material.

CHAKA, A Historical Romance, by Thomas Mofolo. *Translated from the original Sesuto by F. H. Dutton. New York: Oxford University Press. 213 pages. $3.*

It would be a pity if this remarkable book were to be ignored as a mere devotional gesture of a learned society. This is a work of art, so sincere, so strong and native, that beside it the best books of Negro writers in America are pathetically tame and tricky. The author is a Basuto, and the book was written and first published in a vernacular newspaper. While it takes the form of a novel, "Chaka" is, and was intended to be, an authentic record of the history of the Zulu imperialism. Its story is the tragedy of an ambitious man who first destroyed the peace of his people, then his own peace, in the effort to build an empire. Mofolo endows his characters with that credible dignity which only complete reality can give. (White writers, even the most sympathetic, succeed only in drawing solemn caricatures of the Negro.) His writing is virile and eloquent, and the end, where the world is seen apocalyptically in the grip of evil, is a vast and stirring achievement of the imagination.

SATURDAY NIGHT, by Thomas Moult. *New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.*

In the noise, unrest, glamor, of modern London a junior clerk and rent collector, Mark Poplar, works and dreams. There is a picture of Hampstead Heath, with lust and death stalking the crowd's pursuit of happiness, and striking it down. The influences shown in the writing range all the way from Joyce to the funny papers.

WITHOUT MY CLOAK, by Kate O'Brien. *New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.*

In Ireland, town of Mellick, in the Vale of Honey, there was born and bred a lad who wished to thrust himself outside the family wall. The Considines were successful Catholic merchants, and they bore children with Victorian opulence. Like all hearty families, "they seemed to find some sort of reassurance, some sort of respite in huddling together," and it was woe for any one of them to try to escape. Not only Denis, but Caroline, was their prisoner. Once she picked up her skirts and ran for it, but they brought her back. Denis rebelled to the point of following a peasant girl—"Christina, loved and deflowered, pursued in pity's rage across the sea"—but Christina had intuitions as to what it meant to live among the Considines. Finally the fruitful passions of brother and sister, father and son, seem to be hanging overripe from branches of a once robust family tree; and the suggestion of this condition is the unique value of this novel. On the whole, it is a competent saga, full of emotion and color, good reading for people who can never get enough Galsworthy.

Contributors

Reuben Oppenheimer, a member of a law firm in Baltimore, Maryland, prepared the report on the enforcement of the deportation laws for the Wickersham Commission. His article in the present issue of The New Republic is a general discussion based on the facts in that report.

Albert Jay Nock, formerly editor of The Freeman, is a contributor to various magazines, author of "The Theory of Education in the United States," which Harcourt, Brace is publishing early this month, and editor of a new edition of the famous Urquhart and Le Motteux translation of Rabelais' works.

Michael Farbman, a writer specializing in economics and international relations, is editor of the yearbook "Europa," and author of "Piatiletka: The Story of the Five Year Plan," which was issued in The New Republic Dollar Series.

John Dos Passos, poet, playwright and novelist, has completed a new novel, "1919," which will apear next month under the imprint of Harcourt, Brace. His present contribution is a chapter from "1919."

H. Boner is a contributor to Poetry, also to an anthology of verse written by Columbia University students and to various magazines.

Raymond Leslie Buell is research director of the Foreign Policy Association and the author of several volumes on international affairs.

B. H. Haggin is a New York musical critic who has contributed to The Nation and other periodicals.

Murray Godwin, who contributes frequently to the literary magazines of leftist tendencies, is at present free-lancing in New York City.

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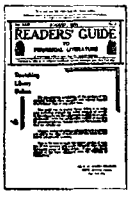

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